

T H E
Irish R E B E L L I O N :
O R, A N
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E

Attempts of the *Irish* P A P I S T S

To extirpate the
Protestants in the Kingdom of *Ireland*;

Together with the
Barbarous CRUELITIES and Bloody MASSACRES
which ensued thereupon.

Written from his own Observations, and authentic Depositions of other Eye-witnesses,

By Sir J O H N T E M P L E, Knt.

Master of the Rolls, and one of His Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council at that Time in *Ireland*.

Now Reprinted for the Perusal of all Protestants as the most Effectual Warning-Piece to keep them upon their Guard against the Encroachments of Popery.

L O N D O N :

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THE
P R E F A C E
T O T H E
R E A D E R.

I HAVE here adventured to present unto public View, the Beginnings and first Progress of the Rebellion lately raised within the Kingdom of *Ireland*. And, although I cannot but take Notice of such a Multitude of Imperfections in myself, as render me very unfit for the Performance of this Service ; as also, that I shall thereby raise up much Malice, and private Displeasure, as well against my Person, as my Undertakings herein ; yet such is my Zeal and most earnest Desire to appear in this Cause, as, being now laid aside, and for the present disabled in any other Way to be further useful to this unhappy Kingdom, I resolved to deny myself, and, wholly departing from my own Interests, to employ my weak Endeavours, in setting down the sad Story of our Miseries. I might per-

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adventure, with much more Advantage to my own Particular, have looked back, (as far wiser Men have done in their Troubles) and passed my Time in foreign Collections, or penning some Story of Times long since past, where the chief Actors are at rest, and their unquiet Spirits so surely laid, as they are not to be moved with the sharpest Charge that can be laid on their Memories : *Nulli gravis est percussus Achilles.*

Most Men are great Lovers of themselves, and such constant Admirers of their own Actions, as they think they do well to be angry at any Thing that shall (though never so truly) be reported to their Disadvantage. They consider not their own natural Imbecillities, their Passions, Distempers, or ill Affections, which lead them on to advise or act Things of an ill Fame ; but are ready to fly in the Faces of those who shall, even in the fairest Characters, represent or leave any Impressions of them.

Hence it is that the Truth of Things comes quite to be overshadowed with false Colours, and so to remain as it were buried alive, or otherways to appear extreamly disfigured through gross Errors, base Flattery, or wilful Mistakes : For most Men, that are present Adventurers in this Kind, are wise enough to apprehend their own Danger ; and thereupon departing from the common Interest that every other Man hath in their Story, reflect only upon their own Particular, and suffer themselves to be over-awed
with

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with the Humour of the present Times ; or so far transported, either with the Benefits or private Injuries received from particular Persons, as they transmit very imperfect and weaker Relations, or otherwise fill them up with such counterfeit Stuff, as Posterity will owe little to their Information.

Monfieur *du Plessis*, a Person of extraordinary Abilities and Learning, a great Minister of State under that glorious King *Henry IV. of France*, undertook, as it appears by a Letter of his, to Monfieur *Languet*, to write an History of those Times wherein he lived. But I cannot find that he ever suffered that Work to come to the Press; whether by just Apprehensions discouraged from Publication, or whether it otherwise miscarried, I cannot say. But sure I am, in the same Letter, he bitterly declaims against the Humour of the Times, and there plainly tells us, That after one hath writ an History, he dares not adventure the publishing of it. (a) *Si non qu'il allegé pour cause d'un effect ce que n'a pas esté, comme une cause genereuse, au lieu de l'amour d'une femme, & d'une querelle de bordeau.* Such was then the Iniquity of those Times, so abominable and shameful, the true Causes of the Imbroilments in that Kingdom, that those Wars, (as the Court was then governed had for the most part their first Beginnings some ill-placed Affection, or a pri-

(a) *Memoires de Monfieur du Plessis*, fol. 45.

vate Quarrel in an infamous Place. And further speaking on this Subject, he intimates how dangerous it is to set forth the Actions of Men in their true Colours ; and how bitter and corroding to the Conscience of an Historian to disguise or make them appear otherwise to the World, than they were in their first Original.

To speak Truth exactly is highly commendable in any Man, especially in one that takes upon him to be a public Informer : To raze, to corrupt a Record is a Crime of a very high Nature, and by the Laws of the Land most severely punishable. Histories are called *Testes Temporum, Lux Veritatis, Vita Memoriæ* : (b) And certainly he doth offend in an high Degree, who shall either negligently suffer, or wilfully procure them to bring false Evidence ; that shall make them dark Lanthorns to give Light but on the one Side, or, as *Ignes fatui*, to cause the Reader to wander from the Truth, and vainly to follow false Shadows, or the factious Humour of the Writer's Brain. To be false, to deceive, to lye, even in ordinary Discourse, are Vices commonly branded with much Infamy, and held in great Detestation by all good Men. And therefore certainly those that arrive at such a Height of Impudence, as magisterially to take upon them not only to abuse the present, but future Ages, must needs render them-

(b) Cicero de Orat.

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themselves justly odious. They stand responsible for other Mens Errors, and whereas, in all other notorious Offenders, their Sin and their Life determines at farthest together; the Sin of these Men is perpetuated after their Decease; they speak when they are dead, make false Infusions into every Age, and court every new Person that shall, many Years after, cast his Eyes upon their Story to give Belief to their Lyes: Therefore for my own Part, when I first undertook this Task, I took up with it a Resolution most clearly to declare the Truth. I have cast up my Accounts, I have set up my Rest, and determine rather to displease any other Man than offend my own Conscience. I have neither private Reflections, no, foreign Ends; I am now as it were reduced into my first Principles, and have taken this Work upon me meerly out of public Considerations. All that I aim at is, that there may remain for the Benefit of this present Age, as well as of Posterity, some certain Records and Monuments of the first Beginnings and fatal Progress of this Rebellion, together with the horrid Cruelties most unmercifully exercised by the *Irish Rebels*, upon the *British* and *Protestants* within this Kingdom of *Ireland*. That when God's Time is come of returning it into the Bosoms of those who have been the first Plotters or present Actors therein, and that Kingdom comes to be re-planted with *British*, and settled in Peace again, (which

I have, even in our lowest Condition, with great Confidence attended, and do now most undoubtedly believe before long will be brought to pass) there may be such a Course taken, such Provisions made, and such a Wall of Separation set up betwixt the *Irish* and *British*, as it shall not be in their Power to rise up (as now and in all former Ages they have done) to destroy and root them out in a Moment, before they be able to put themselves into a Posture of Defence, or to gather together to make any considerable Resistance against their bloody Attempts.

I shall not pretend to entertain the Reader with political Maxims, grave Sentences, or flourishing Orations: That which I hope will cover over a Multitude of Imperfections, is the unquestionable Truth of what I shall set down in a plain and brief Narration of all the Causes and Proceedings held in the raising, as also the first Counsels and Undertakings for the Suppression of this *hideous Rebellion*.

And, that I might in some measure compass my Design herein, and give Satisfaction even to the most curious Inquisitors after Truth, I have with great Care and Diligence, turned over the very Originals or authentical Copies of the voluminous Examinations remaining with the public Register, and taken upon Oath, by virtue of two several Commissions issued out under the Great Seal of this Kingdom, to examine the Losses of the *British*, the Cruelties and
hor-

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horrid Murders committed by the *Irish* in the Destruction of them. I have perused the public Dispatches, Acts and Relations, as likewise the private Letters and particular Discourses sent by the chief Gentlemen out of several Parts of the Kingdom, to present unto the Lords Justices and Council, of the sad Condition of their Affairs. And, having been made acquainted with all the most secret Passages and Counsels of the States, I have, as far as I could, without Breach of Trust, and as the Duty of a Privy Counsellor would admit, communicated so much of them as I conceived necessary and proper for public Information. And, setting aside the Particulars contained in the first Pages, leading on by way of Introduction to the ensuing Troubles, which I have taken upon Trust out of the most approved Authors both antient and modern, who have written the History of *Ireland*, I may confidently avow, that I have been so curious in gathering up my Materials, and so careful in putting them together, as very few Passages will be found here inserted which have not either fallen within the Compass of my own Knowledge, or that I have not received from those who were chiefly intrusted in Matter of Action abroad; or that came not to my Hands attested under the Oaths of credible Witnesses, or clearly asserted in the voluntary Confessions of the *Rebels* themselves.

Every Man, I believe, will easily assent with me, that out of these Fountains, we may

may presume with more Certainty to draw Truth; and that, if we bound our Inquiries within this Circuit, we may well hope to arrive at the true Knowledge of the main particular Passages of this late *Rebellion*: And therefore, though I shall not obtrude every Thing as infallible, which, by a strict and most severe Inquisition, I have taken upon the Grounds beforementioned, (considering how subject Men are, through Forgetfulness and human Imbecillity, to err in the ordinary Course of their Relations) yet thus much I suppose I may confidently say, that no Man could imagine how to make Collections with greater Certainty and more clear and unquestionable Probabilities of Truth, than I have here set down.

Now as for the Examinations here mentioned, notwithstanding they were taken with all the Care and Circumspection that could possibly be used in so great a Work; yet, as they are most commonly denied, and held by the *Irish* as very injurious to their Country-men, thus much I shall be bold to aver, and shall here speak it for the better Authority and Credit of the Evidence brought in by them:

That as the Commissions for taking those Examinations were, after mature Deliberation, issued out by special Order from the Lords Justices and Council; so they were in great Wisdom designed by them for no other Ends than to have some general Account of the Losses suffered by the *British*,
and

and the Cruelties exercised by the *Irish* upon them in the several Parts of the Kingdom. And this Course was first set on foot in the very Height of our Troubles, when the Fury of the *Rebels* so desperately raged, as they were in no Condition to think of the attainting of their Persons ; and therefore only aimed at the Discovery of their Treason. Out of which respect chiefly the Commissioners made Choice of for the Performance of this Service, were six of the Clergy, all Persons of known Integrity ; and such as, by reason of their Profession would in all Probability gently proceed on their Inquisitions, and truly set down the bloody Relations given in unto them. The Persons examined were of several Conditions, most of them *British*, some of *Irish* Birth and Extraction, very many of good Quality ; and such as were of inferiour Rank were not rejected, if they were known Sufferers, and came freely in to declare what they could speak of their own Knowledge. Few came but such as had been in the Hands of the *Rebels*, and could with sorrowful Hearts make the sad Relation of their own Miseries ; and so they having been Eye-witnesses, their Depositions are for the most part out of their own Knowledge ; and what is given in by them upon Hear-say, they for the most part depose, that they received it out of the *Rebels* own Mouths while they were in Restraint among them. Lastly, many of these miserable Persons, thus examined, came up wounded, others even almost

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almost famished ; or so worn out with their Sufferings, as they did not long out-live the Date of their Examinations : [So, as these Testimonies being delivered in their last Agonies, we are in Charity to believe that they would leave behind them, with all due Circumstances, a clear Attestation of such Cruelties as they then bequeathed unto us with their last Breath,

But it is not much to be wondered, if they who had it in Design to destroy all the public Records and antient Monuments in the Kingdom, (c) to banish both the *English* Law and Government, do so bitterly declaim against these Evidences of their Cruelty, and lively Attestations given in to perpetuate the Memory of them to their eternal Infamy.

If they could imagine which Way to silence, or by what Means to blast the Credit of these Examinations thus solemnly taken, and prevail, according to their most impetuous Desires, upon the late Treaty of Peace, to have all the Indictments legally put in against the principal Rebels and their Adherents, taken off the File and cancelled, they would not be out of Hope, as these Times now are, to palliate their *Religion*

(c) Mr. Creighton in his Examination deposeth, That he heard many bitter Words cast out against the City of *Dublin*, That they would burn and ruin it, destroy all Records and Monuments of the *English* Government ; make Laws against speaking *English*; and that all Names, given by the *English* to Places, should be abolished, and the antient Names restored.

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bellion with such specious Pretences, as that their barbarous Cruelties, acted beyond all Parallel, being forgotten, it should with great Applause be brought down to Posterity, under the Name of a holy and just War for the Defence of the *Catholic Cause*.

And now, in order to this Design, they have taken all Occasions to proclaim the huge Pressures which they pretend to have suffered under the late Government in this Kingdom, and spare not to term it tyrannical: They speak as if their Oppressions might be paralleled with the *Israelitish* Vassalage in the Land of *Ægypt*, and their Persecutions for Religion equalled to those of the primitive Times, and then they further say, ‘ That thereupon only some *Catholics*, considering the deplorable and desperate Condition they were in, and apprehending the Plots laid to extinguish their Religion and Nation, did take Arms in the *North* in Maintenance of their Religion, and for the Preservation of Life, Liberty, and Estate, together with his Majesty’s Rights: And that the Lords and Gentlemen, dwelling within the *English* Pale, were likewise, by the great Rigour and Severity used by the State towards them, enforced to take up Arms for their Defence.’

These are the Expressions and the Language used in the *Remonstrance* given in to his Majesty’s Commissioners at *Trime*, to be presented to his Majesty in Behalf

of

of his *Catholic* Subjects in *Ireland*. (d) Wherein there are pieced together so many vain, inconsiderable Fancies, many subsequent Passages acted in the Prosecution of the War, and such bold, notorious, false Assertions, without any the least Ground or Colour of Truth, as, without all doubt, they absolutely resolved, first to raise this Rebellion, and then to set their Lawyers and Clergy on work, to frame^y such Reasons and Motives as might, with some Colour of Justification, serve for Arguments to defend it.

And it is indeed, to speak plainly, a *most infamous Pamphlet*, full fraught with scandalous Aspersions cast upon the present Government, and his Majesty's principal Officers of State within this Kingdom. It was certainly framed with most virulent Intentions, not to present their Condition and present Sufferings to his Majesty, but that it might be dispersed to gain Belief among foreign States Abroad, as well as discontented Persons at Home; and so draw Assistance and Aid, to foment and strengthen their *rebellious* Party in *Ireland*.

But I do not much wonder they should take thus upon them to abuse the World with such scurrilous Discourses, and thereby endeavour to raise some Ground or Belief
that

(d) A *Remonstrance of Grievances*, presented to his Majesty in Behalf of the *Catholics of Ireland*, and given in to his Majesty's Commissioners at *Trim*, March 17, 1642.

that they had just Cause to enter into so *desperate a Rebellion*. This hath been an ordinary Course ever held in all Designs of this Nature. And it is well observed by *Polybius*, that there are commonly to be found, in all such great Undertakings, *Causæ suasive*, and *Causæ justificæ*: The first, such as are the true natural Causes, and really first in the Intention; the other, such as are most commonly obtruded on the World by Way of Cover and Justification. Now, as the Nature of Water is most clearly seen in the first Fountain, where it remains pure and unmixed, without any Dross or Soil that it afterwards contracts, as it passeth along in the Streams derived from it: So certainly the Quality of all human Actions is best understood, and most clearly discerned, when we look upon them as they appear in their first Original, before the Inconveniencies and fatal Miscarriages which afterwards come to be discovered, awake the first Projectors, and teach them new Artifices wherewith to Disguise and Colour over their abortive, or otherwise unfortunate Counsels. Now, as for the true *Suasive* Causes (if I may so term them) which induced the *Irish* to lay the Plot of this Rebellion, and were indeed really first in their Thoughts, they will sufficiently appear in this ensuing Story: And, for the justifical Reasons of their Rising in Armes, if any one hath a mind to take them upon trust from themselves, let him seek

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seek no further than the *Remonstrance* before-mentioned ; whereof much more is to be said, than I shall give myself Liberty to speak in this Place ; well knowing, that those notorious Untruths and wicked Impositions contained in it, when they come to the Test, will be quickly discovered, and the Varnish they have put upon them soon fall away of itself.

If any one hath been ignorantly deluded hereby, and desires to be rectified in his own Judgment, let him be pleased to turn over this ensuing Story,

Verum est Index sui & obliqui :

There needs certainly no other Confutation of their false and virulent Suggestions, than a true impartial Relation of the first Beginnings and Progress of this Rebellion : which, for what was acted within the Space of the first two Months, after the breaking out of it, I presume I may say without Vanity, he shall certainly find here. It is true, I have principally applied myself to give an Account of what was done about *Dublin*, the chief City of this Kingdom, and the Place where the Lords Justices and Council continued using their utmost Power and Endeavours to oppose the Fury of the *Rebels* : Yet, as all other Parts of the Kingdom were under their Government, and their Care and Counsels, as far

P R E F A C E. xvii

as their general Distractions would admit, extended to the Whole, what was acted in all other Places of the Country comes properly to be touched upon, and the miserable Condition of them to be represented in this following Story.

I shall not here trouble the Reader with any further Apology for myself, or with Excuses for the Multitude of my own Imperfections, which will here appear in large Characters; and will be peradventure looked upon with a Multiplying-glass, by those who are not pleased with what I have here exposed to public View. I do not at all pretend to silence the bitter Expressions of malevolent Spirits: As I shall with great Patience compose myself to bear the utmost that their Malice can put upon me; so I shall be always ready with much Meekness to submit to be reformed by any Person whatsoever, who can make it appear, that I have either, through Ignorance or Negligence, (for I am sure wilful Mistakes they will find none) miscarried in the Relation of any Particular here set down. *Sins of Ignorance* found a very easy Expiation under the Old Law; I will not say they had a Pardon of Course: But, if I have so carried myself, as that no greater Transgressions can be laid to my Charge, I shall be much satisfied, and may peradventure be further encouraged to proceed on to a Continuation of this Story, and therein to transmit

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down to Posterity the noble Atchievements
and great Victories already obtained by small
Numbers of the *English* Forces over huge
Multitudes of these *Irish* REBELS.



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Irish REBELLION.

TH E Kingdom of *Ireland*, which hath, for almost five hundred Years, continued under the Sovereignty of the Crown of *England*, was presently, after the first Conquest of it, planted with *English* Colonies, long since worn out, or for the most part became *Irish*: And therefore it hath again in this last Age been supplied with great Numbers of People, drawn out of *England* and *Scotland*, to settle their Habitations in that Country. Now the most execrable Plot laid by the *Irish*, for the universal Extirpation of all these *British* and *Protestants*; the bloody Progress of their *Rebellion* within the Compass of the first two Months; their horrid Cruelties, in most barbarously murdering, or otherwise destroying many thousands of Men Women and Children, peaceably settled, and securely intermixed among them, and that without any Provocation, or considerable Resistance at first made, I intend shall be the present Subject of the first Part of this ensuing Story.

The *Irish* want not many fabulous Inventions to magnify the very first Beginnings of their Nation. Whether the *Scythians*, *Gauls*, *Africans*, *Goths*, or some other more Eastern Nation, that antiently inhabited *Spain*, came and sat down first in *Ireland*, I shall not much trouble

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ble myself here to enquire. If we should give Credit to the *Irish* Chronicles, or their Bards, who deliver no certain Truths, we might find Stuff enough for an antient Pedigree, made up out of a most various strange Composure of the *Irish* Nation. But, to let them pass, there are certainly a Concurrence of divers Manners and Customs, such Affinity of several of their Words and Names, and so great Resemblance of many long-used Rites, and still retained Ceremonies, as do give us some Ground to believe, that they do not improbably deduce their Original from some of those People. It may very well be conjectured, for infallible Records I find none, that as the Eastern Parts of *Ireland*, bordering upon *England*, were first planted by the old *Britains*, (*a*) *Toole*, *Birne*, and *Cauvenagh*, the antient *Septs*, and still Inhabitants of that Part of the Country, being old *British* Words; and as the Northern Parts of *Ireland* were first inhabited by the *Seytbians*, from whom it was called (*b*) *Seytenland*, or *Scotland*; so the Southern and more Western Parts thereof were peopled from the Maritime Parts of *Spain*, being the next Continent; not by the now *Spanish* Nation, who are strangely compounded of a different Mixture of several People: But, as I said, peradventure by the *Gauls*, who antiently inhabited all the Sea-coasts of *Spain*, the *Syrians*, or some other of those more Eastern Nations, who, intermixing with the natural Inhabitants of that Country, made a Transmigration into *Ireland*, and so settled some Colonies there.

The

(*a*) *Toole*, of the old *Britain* Word *Toll*, a Hill-country. *Birne*, of *Brin*, Woods. *Cauvenagh*, of *Cauue*, strong. The View of *Ireland* by *Spencer*, fol. 33.

(*b*) *Ireland* is often called *Scotia Major* among antient Writers.

The Irish Rebellion.

3

The whole Kingdom of *Ireland* was divided into divers petty Principalities, and of later Times there were five principal Chieftains, viz. *Mac-Morough* of *Lemster*, *Mac-Cartye* of *Munster*, *O Neale* of *Ulster*, *O Connor* of *Conaght*, and *O Malagblin* of *Meath*: For such were the *Irish* Denominations; and I do not find they were called Kings till about the Time of the coming over of the *English*; *Giraldus Cambrensis*, who came into *Ireland* in the Time of *Henry II.* of *England*, being the first Writer that gives them that Title. Besides, (c) as they came not in either by hereditary Right or lawful Election, so their Investiture was solemnized neither by Unction, or Coronation; they made their Way by the Sword; had certain Kinds of barbarous Ceremonies used at their Inauguration, kept up their Power with a high Hand, and held the People most monstrously enslaved to all the savage Customs practised under their Dominion. And thus they continued until the Reign of *Henry II.* King of *England*, in whose Time the Undertakings for the Conquest of *Ireland* were successfully made, by most powerful, though private Adventures upon this Occasion.

Dermott Mac-Morough, King of *Lemster*, being, by the Kings of *Conaght* and *Meath*, enforced to flee his Country, made his Repair directly to *Henry II.* King of *England*, then personally attending his Wars in *France*, and with much Earnestness implored his Aid for the Recovery of his Territories in *Ireland*, most injuri-

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ously,

(c) *Illi reges non fuerunt ordinati solemnitate alicujus ordinis, nec unctionis sacramento, nec jure hereditario, vel aliqua proprietatis successione, sed vi & armis quilibet regnum suum obtinuit.* The *Black Book of Christ Church*, in *Dublin*; it is an ancient Manuscript kept there.

ously, as he pretended, wrested out of his Hands. The King refused to embark himself in this Quarrel; yet graciously recommended the Justness of his Cause to all his loving Subjects, and by his Letters Patent assured them, that whosoever would afford the said *Mac-Morough* Assistance towards his Resettlement, should not only have free Liberty to transport their Forces, but be held to do very acceptable Service therein (*d*). Hereupon Earl *Strangebow*, first engaging himself, determined, as a private Adventurer, to endeavour his Restitution with the utmost Forces he could raise, he lying then very conveniently at *Bristol*, where *Mac-Morough* came unto him, in his Passage back from the King into *Ireland*. There were certain Conditions agreed upon between them, and a Transaction made by *Mac-Morough* of his Kingdom of *Lemster* unto the Earl, upon his Marriage with his only Daughter *Eva*. And so he, being desirous to return speedily into his own Country, passed to *St. David's* in *South-Wales*, from whence is the shortest Passage out of *England* into *Ireland*, and there he further engaged *Fitz-Stephen* and *Fitz-Gerald*, private Gentlemen, in this Service: These, by their Power among their Countrymen in those Parts, having gotten together a Party of 490 Men (*e*), transported them in three Ships into *Ireland*, landing at the *Banne*, a little Creek near *Featherd*, in the County of *Wexford*, and there joining with some Forces, brought unto them by *Mac-Morough* made their first Attempt upon the Town of *Wexford*. They were gallantly seconded by Earl *Strangebow*, who followed presently after with no very
confi-

(*d*) *Se nostram ad hoc tam gratiam noverit quam licentiam obtinere.* Gir. Cambrn. Expugnata Hib. cap. 1.

(*e*) *Cambr. cap. 3.*

considerable Forces; and yet, by the Power of their Arms, with a very short Time, prevailed so far in the Country, as they made themselves Masters thereof, and so gained the Possession of all the maritime Parts of *Lemster*.

King *Henry*, upon the News of their prosperous Success, in the sudden Reducement of so large a Territory, by such inconsiderable Forces as they carried with them, desirous to share with his Subjects in the rich Fruits, as well as in the Glory of so great an Action, undertook an Expedition in his own Person into *Ireland* the Year following. And so strange an Influence had the very Presence of this great Prince into the Minds of the rude, savage Natives, as partly by the Power of his Arms, partly by his Grace and Favour, in receiving of them in upon their feigned Submissions, most humbly tendered unto him, he easily subdued a barbarous divided People.

The first Beginnings of the Conquest of this Kingdom were thus gloriously laid by this King, in the Year of our Lord 1172. Now for the Land itself, he found it good, and flourishing with many excellent Commodities, plentiful in all Kinds of Provision, the Soil rich and fertile, the Air sweet and temperate, the Havens very safe and commodious, several Towns and little Villages scattered up and down in the several Parts of the Country; but the Buildings so poor and contemptible, as, when the King arrived at *Dublin*, their chief City, and finding there neither Place fit for Receipt or Entertainment, he set up a *Long-house* (f), made of smoothed Wattles, after the Manner of the Country, and

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therein

(f) *Rog. Hoveden* calls it *Palatium regium miro artificio de virgis levigatis ad modum patriæ illius constructum*. fol. 528.

therein kept his *Christmas*. All their Forts, Castles, stately buildings, and other Edifices, were afterwards erected by the *English*, except some of their maritime Towns, which were built by the *Ostmanni* or *Easterlings*, who antiently came and inhabited in *Ireland*.

He found likewise, by several Monuments of Piety, and other remarkable Testimonies, that the *Christian* Religion had been long since introduced and planted among the Inhabitants of the Land. It is not certainly without some good Grounds affirmed by antient Writers, That, in the fourth Age after the Incarnation of our blessed Lord and Saviour, some holy and learned Men came over out of foreign Parts into *Ireland*, out of their pious Desirè to propagate the blessed Gospel throughout the Kingdom, as (g) *Sedulias*, *Palladius*, and, besides several others, *Patricius*, the famous *Irish* Saint, (a *Briton*, born at a Place now called *Kirk-Patrick*, near *Glasgow* in *Scotland*, than the utmost Boundary of the *Britons* Dominion in those Parts) who, out of meer Devotion, came and spent much of their Time among the *Irish*, and out of their zealous Affections for the Conversion of a barbarous People, applied themselves, with great Care and Industry, to the instructing of them in the true Grounds and Principles of the *Christian* Religion. And with so great Success, and such unwearied Endeavours did St. *Patrick* travel in this Work, as, if we will give Credit to some Writers, we must believe that the Church of *Armagh* was by him erected into an Archiepiscopal See, three hundred and

(g) By *Sedulius*, *Palladius*, *Patricius*, in the fourth Age after the Birth of our Saviour.

and fifty Bishops consecrated, great Numbers of Clergymen instituted, who, notwithstanding the notorious Impiety and continued Profaneness of the common Sort of People, being most of them Monks by Vow and Profession, of great Learning, very austere and strict in their Discipline, were so much taken notice of in those rude, ignorant Times by other Nations, as, in respect of them, some gave unto the Island the Denomination of *Insula Sanctorum*. But, so quickly did the Power of Holiness decay in the Land, as the Name was soon lost, and even the very Prints and Characters thereof among the very Clergy themselves obliterated; the Life of the People so beastly, their Manners so depraved and barbarous, as that King *Henry*, when he entertained the first Thoughts of transferring his Arms over into *Ireland*, made suit unto the Pope, that he would give him leave to go and conquer *Ireland*, and reduce those beastly Men unto the Way of Truth; answerable whereunto was the Tenor of Pope *Adrian's* Bull (b), as appears at large in *Parisiensis*, whereby he gave him Liberty to go over and subdue the *Irish* Nation; a sufficient Demonstration of the Condition of that People, and what Opinion was held of them, as well by their holy Father the Pope, as other Princes. And the King at his Arrival found them no other than a beastly People indeed: For the Inhabitants were generally devoid of all manner of Civility, governed by no settled Laws, living like Beasts, biting and devouring one another, without all Rules, Cus-

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toms,

(b) *Rex Anglorum Hen. nuncios solennes Roman mittens rogavit Papam Adrianum ut sibi liceret Hibernia Insulam intrare, & terram subjugare atque homines illos bestiales ad fidem, & viam redehere veritatis.* Mat. Parif. Ann. 1156.

toms, or reasonable Constitutions, either for Regulation of Property, or against open Force and Violence; most notorious Murthers, Rapes, Robberies, and all other Acts of Inhumanity and Barbarism, raging without Controul, or due Course of Punishment. Whereupon he without any manner of Scruple, or farther Inquisition into particular Titles, resolving, as it seems to make good by the Sword the Pope's Donation, made a general Seizure of all the Lands of the whole Kingdom, and so, without other Ceremony took them all into his own Hands.

And, that he might the more speedily introduce Religion and Civility, and so draw on towards the Accomplishment of that great Work, which he had so gloriously begun, he first, in a great Council held at *Lissemore* (i), caused the Laws of *England* to be received and settled in *Ireland*. He afterwards united it to the Imperial Crown of *England*, making large Distributions to his Followers by particular Grants, allotted out in great Proportions the whole Land of *Ireland* among the *English* Commanders, who made Estates, and gave several Shares to their Friends and Commilitants that came over private Adventurers with them. But, before I pass further, I shall take the Liberty here to insert one Observation out of *Giraldus Cambrensis*, concerning the Causes and Reasons of the Prosperity of the *English* Undertakings in *Ireland*. He saith, " That a Synod, or Council " of the Clergy, being there assembled at *Armagh*, and that Point fully debated, it was " unani-

(i) *Rex antequam ab Hibernia redibat consilium congregavit apud Lismore, ubi leges Angliæ ab omnibus gratanter sunt acceptæ & jurataria cautione prestita confirmatæ*, Mat. Paris, An. 1172.

“ unanimously agreed by them all, that the Sins
 “ of the People were the occasion of that heavy
 “ Judgment then fallen upon their Nation ; and
 “ that especially their buying of *Englishmen* from
 “ Merchants and Pirates, and detaining them
 “ under a most miserable hard Bondage, had
 “ caused the Lord, by way of just Retaliation,
 “ to leave them to be reduced by the *English* to
 “ the same Slavery. Whereupon they made a
 “ public Act in that Council (k), that all the
 “ *English*, held in Captivity throughout the
 “ whole Land, should be presently restored to
 “ their former Liberty.” If so heavy a Judgment fell then upon the *Irish* for their hard Usage of some few *English*, what are they now to expect ? or what Expiation can they now pretend to make, for the late Effusion of so much innocent *English* Blood, after so horrid, despicable, and execrable a Manner ? There being since the Rebellion first brake out, unto the Time of the Cessation, made Sept. 15, 1643, which was not full two Years after, above 300,000 *British* and *Protestants* cruelly murdered in cold Blood, destroyed some other Way, or expelled out of their Habitations, according to the strictest Conjecture and Computation, of those who seemed best to understand the Numbers of *English* planted in *Ireland*, besides those few which perished in the Heat of Fight, during the War.

King *John* came into *Ireland* during his Minority, though to little Purpose ; but after, about the twelfth Year of his Reign, upon the general Defection of the *Irish*, he made a second Expedi-

(k) *Decretum est itaque predicto concilio, & cum universitatis consensu public Statutum ut Angliæ ubique per insulam servitutis vinculo mancipati in pristinam revocentur libertatem.*
 Gir. Camb. Expug. Hib. c. 18.

Expedition, and, during his Stay there, built several Forts and strong Castles, many of which remain unto this day: He erected all the Courts of Judicature, and contributed very much towards the Settlement of the *English* Colonies, as also of the Civil Government. King *Richard II.* made likewise, in the Time of his Reign, upon the same Occasion, two other Expeditions into *Ireland* in his own Person. But both those Princes, out of a Desire to spare the Effusion of *English* Blood, as also the Expence of Treasure, being likewise hastened back by the Distempers of their own Subjects in *England*, were both content to suffer themselves to be again abused by the feigned Submissions of the *Irish*, who finding their own Weakness, and utter Disability to resist the Power of those two mighty Monarchs, came with all Humility, even from the farthest Parts of the Kingdom, to submit to their Mercy. And yet it is well observed by some, that say they returned back, not leaving one true Subject more behind them, than they found at their first Arrival. However, by the very Presence of these Princes, and by the careful Endeavours of the Governours sent over by order of the Kings of *England*, those that were Adventurers in the first Conquest, and such other of the *English* Nation as came over afterwards, took Possession, by virtue of the former Grants, of the whole Kingdom, drove the *Irish* in a manner out of all the habitable Parts of it, and settled themselves in all the Plains and fertile Places of the Country, especially in the chief Towns, Ports, and upon the Sea-coasts. And to such a Height of Power and Greatness had some of those first adventuring Commanders raised themselves here, by reason of the Addition
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The Irish Rebellion. 11

tion of new Titles of Honour, the unlimited Jurisdictions any Privileges enjoyed by them, the great Rents they received, the numerous Dependance they had, as that they began to look upon their own Possessions as circumscribed within too narrow Limits, to entertain private Animosities against each other, to draw in the *Irish*, whom they had driven up into the Mountains, and ever esteemed as their most deadly Enemies, to take part in their Quarrels ; being not ashamed to use their Assistance for the Enlargement of their own private Territories, as also to curb the too exorbitant Power, as they thought, of their Opposites ; though their own Compatriots and Joint-tenants in the Possession of that good Land.

The *Irish* were very glad to entertain this Ccasion, and did ever foment, by their utmost Power and Artifice, these unnatural Broils and Dissentions among the *English*, whom they most mortally hated : For they, living in a manner out of the Reach, as well as out of the Protection of all the *English* Laws and Government, were always accounted not only as Aliens, but meer Enemies. And beside, those *Septs* of *Irish*, which were termed the *Quinque Familæ* (1) who, notwithstanding the great Privileges they enjoyed by the Protection of the *English* Laws, ever shewed much Averseness both to the *English* and their Laws. No other Persons of any *Irish* Families, from the very first Conquest of *Ireland*, in the Time of *Hen. II.* until the Reign of *Hen. VIII.* were admitted into the Condition of Subjects, or received any Benefit by the *English* Laws,

(1) *Quinque Familæ* ; O Neale de Ultonia ; O Malabglin de Media ; O Conor de Conacia ; O Brien de Thomondia ; Mac-Morough de Lagenia.

Laws, but such as purchased Charters of Denization. It was no capital Offence to kill any of them, the Law did neither protect their Life, nor revenge their Death : And so they, living upon the Mountains in the Bogs and Woods, though at first after some sort divided from the *English*, did take all Occasions to declare their Malice and Hatred against the *English Colonies* planted near unto them.

But howsoever the *English* were in all Ages infested with their *Irish* Enemies, yet were they certainly, in Point of Interest and universal Possession, Owners and Proprietors of the whole Kingdom of *Ireland*. They kept themselves in entire Bodies almost for the first hundred Years after their Arrival, not suffering the *Irish* to live promiscuously among them, by which means they failed not to make good their Footing, and by a high Hand to keep them under in due Obedience and Subjection to the Crown of *England* : And when afterwards they began to be more careless of their Habitation, and to suffer the *Irish* to intermingle with them, and their *English* Followers to familiarize themselves into their beastly Manners and Customs, for Prevention of which Mischief many severe Laws (*m*) were enacted in after Ages ; yet for some Time they made good the Rights and Possessions they had gotten by Conquest, and went on, endeavouring to civilize the People, introducing the
English

(*m*) By the Statutes, made at *Kilkenny*, by *Lionel Duke of Clarence*, L. Lieutenant of *Ireland* in the Time of *Edw. III.* Alliance by Marriage, Nurture of Infants, and gossipred with the *Irish* are High Treason : And, if any *Englishman* should use the *Irish* Language, *Irish* Name, or *Irish* Apparel, his Lands should be seized on ; and, if he had no Lands, he was to suffer Imprisonment. *Archiv. in Castro Dublin, Statutes of Kilkenny.*

The Irish Rebellion. 13

English Laws, Language, Habit, and Customs long used among them. Now although these, and all other Courses were taken by them, which might reclaim such as seemed any ways inclinable to Civility, or would take out Charters of Denization ; yet such ever was the rough, rebellious Disposition of the People, their Hatred so implacable, their Malice so unappeasable to all the *English* Nation, as no Laws or gentle Constitutions would work, no public Benefits attempter, or any Tract of Time reconcile, and draw them to any tolerable Patience of Cohabitation ; but they have in all Times continued to take all Advantages, as well since they were admitted into the Condition of Subjects, as while they were esteemed and treated as Enemies, most perfidiously to rise up and imbrue their Hands in the Blood of their *English* Neighbours : So as *Ireland* hath long remained a true *Aceldama*, a Field of Blood, an unsatiated Sepulchre of the *English* Nation. For what by reason of their own intestine Broils, after they had, as soon they did, when they began to admit the Intermixture of the *Irish*, most barbarously degenerate into all their Manners and Customs ; and what by reason of the cruel Hatred and mischievous Attempts of the *Irish* upon them, we shall not find that the *English*, from their first Access into *Ireland*, unto the beginning of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, a Tract of Time containing above 380 Years (n), had any settled Peace or comfortable Subsistence, but
were

(n) In that Space of Time, which was between the 10th Year of *Edw. II.* and the 30th Year of *Edw. III.* all the old *English* Colonies in *Munster*, *Canaght*, and *Ulster*. and more than a third Part of *Leinster*, became degenerate, and fell away from the Crown of *England* ; so as the *English* Pale remained only under the Obedience of the Law.

were in most perpetual Combustions and Troubles, so extremely harrassed and overworn with Misery, as they were not long likely to survive the universal Calamity that had overspread the Face of the whole Kingdom.

Whereupon that blessed Queen, out of her pious Intentions, and good Affections to her People, applied herself with great Care to redress the Disorders of her Subjects in *Ireland*; and, in the very beginning of her Reign, sending very prudent and religious Governors, the Work of *Reformation* was much advanced, by many wholesome Laws enacted against the barbarous Customs of the *Irish*; and the Execution of Justice, which a long Time continued within the Limits of the *Pale*, began now to be extended into *Conaght*, *Ulster*, and other remote Parts of the Land at some Intervals of quiet Times. The *Irish* Countries were reduced into Shires; and Sheriffs, with some other Ministers of Justice; placed in them: The pretended Captainships; and those high Powers usurped by the *Irish*, together with all the Extortions, and other fearful Exorbitances incident to them, were now put into such a Way of Declination, as they could not long continue. *Seignories* and Possessions were settled in a due Course of Inheritance; those most destructive Customs of *Tanestry* (o) and

(o) The Lands belonging to the *Irish* were divided into several Territories, and the Inhabitants in every *Irish* Country were divided into several *Septs*, or Lineages.——In every *Irish* Country there was a Lord or a Chieftain, and a *Tanist*, which was his Successor apparent. None could be chosen *Tanist*, but one issued out of one of the chief *Septs*.——The *Seignory*, and Lands belonging to the chief Lord, did not descend from Father to Son, or upon Default of Issue, to him that was next of Kin: But he that was most active, of greatest Power, and had most Followers, always caused himself

The Irish Rebellion. 15

and *Gavelkind* began to be depressed; the two Presidential Courts of *Munster* and *Conaght* were then instituted, and special Order taken, that Free-Schools might be erected in the several Diocesses throughout the Kingdom, for the better training up of Youth. But these Acts, and other Courses tending to the Advancement of true Religion and Civility, were highly displeasing, and most incompatible with the loose Humours of the Natives, who apprehended even the most gentle Means of Reformation, as sharp corroding Medicines; and thereupon, pretending the Burthen of the *English* Government most insupportable, began desperately to struggle for their Liberty. Several Plots were laid, some even by those who were themselves of the old *English* (p) by Extraction: Divers Rebellions and petty Revolts were raised during her Majesty's most happy Reign: That of *Shane*
O Neale

himself to be chosen *Tanist*; and, if he could not compass his Desires by gentle Means, then he used open Force and Violence; and so, being declared as it were Heir apparent, came into Possession upon the Death of the chief Lord.—— Now for the inferior *Septs*, they hold their Lands at the Will of the chief Lord, after a Sort; for, after the Death of every one of his Tenants, which held any Land under him, he assembled the whole *Septs*, and, having put all their Possessions together in *Hotch-potch*, made a new Partition among them; not assigning to the Son of him that died the Land held by his Father, but altering every Man's Possession at his own Pleasure, and according to his own Discretion: He upon the Death of every inferior Tenant, made a general Remove, and so allotted to every one of the *Septs* such Part as he thought fit. And this was the *Irish Gavelkind*. Sir John Davies's Rep. fol. 49.

(p) *Nonnulli ex claris in Lagonia familiis & pleriq. Anglicæ originis partim ex Romanæ religionis studio, partim ex odio recentium Angliorem conspirare cæperant ad pro regem, cum familia opprimendum, castrum Dublinense intercipendum, & Anglos in Hibernia ad unum è medio tolendos. Cambden's Eliz. An. 22.*

O Neale, the Earl of *Desmond*, Viscount *Baltin-glas*, O *Rurke*, and several others at other Times, were all set on foot for this very End, and all timely suppressed, partly by the Power of the Queen's Forces, partly by her gracious Favour, in receiving the Chieftains to Mercy. And she, as much unwearied with their never ceasing Provocations, still went on with all gentle Applications and Lenitives, for the withdrawing of the People from their barbarous Customs: As several of the great Lords, who had been out in Rebellion, were restored to their Lands and Possessions; others she suffered to enjoy their Commands in the Country; upon others she bestowed new Titles of Honour; and, being very unwilling to put the Kingdom of *England* to such an excessive Charge, as the full Conquest of *Ireland* would most necessarily require, no fair Means were left untried, that could minister any Hopes of civilizing the People, or settling the present Distractions of the Kingdom.

But all was in vain; the Matter then wrought upon was not susceptible of any such noble Forms; those Ways were heterogeneal, and had no manner of Influence upon the perverse Dispositions of the *Irish*; the malignant Impressions of Irreligion and Barbarism, transmitted down, whether by Infusion from their Ancestors or natural Generation, had irrefragably stiffened their Necks, and hardened their Hearts against all the most powerful Endeavours of *Reformation*: They continued one and the same in all their wicked Customs and Inclinations, without Change in their Affections or Manners, having their Eyes inflamed, their Hearts enraged with Malice and Hatred against all the *English* Nation,

tion, breathing forth nothing but their Ruin, Destruction, and utter Extripation.

And, that they might at once dis-impester themselves of their unpleasing Company, and disburthen the whole Kingdom of them and their Posterity, they still entertained new Thoughts, and had now brought unto Perfection a Design long meditated in their Breasts, whereby they resolved at once clearly to rescue and deliver themselves from their Subjection to the Crown of *England*; and this was that *desperate Rebellion*, raised almost through the whole Kingdom, by *Hugh Earl of Tyrone*, who, after Titles of Honour, received a Command given by the Queen unto him both of Horse and Foot in her Pay, great Proportions of Land, and other princely Favours conferred upon him, resolving at once to cancel all those royal Obligations of Gratitude and Fidelity, broke out and drew along with him most of all the *Irish Septs* and Families together with many degenerate *English* throughout the Kingdom, into *Rebellion* against his most gracious undoubted Sovereign: And these, as being universally actuated with the venomous Infusions of his malevolent Spirit, uniting their whole Interests and Forces into a firm Conjunction with him, raised all their Dependants, and moved in several Places according to the several Orders and Directions they received from him: And, to fill up the full Measure of his Iniquity, he drew in a foreign Nation at the same Time with considerable Forces to invade the Land.

So as the Queen now found by woeful Experience, that *Ireland* was no longer to be dallied with, one *Rebellion* still begot another, and this last was more dangerous than any of the former; it being more deeply rooted, more generally
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spread within the Kingdom, more powerfully fomented from without. She well discerned how much her great Clemency had been abused, in suffering former *Rebellions* to be *smothered over* and loosely pieced up with Protections and Pardons; that the receiving of the *Irish* upon their Submissions, to avoid the Charge of a War, did inevitably redouble the Charge, and perpetuate the Miseries of War; therefore she now resolved no longer to trifle with them, but vigorously to set to the Work, and, making Choice of some of her most renowned *English* Commanders, committed to their Charge the Conduct of an Army royal, compleatly armed, and well paid, wherewith they began the Prosecution of that Arch-traitor *Tyrone*; and with great Success, in a short Time, though not without the Expence of much *English* Blood, and above a Million of Money, brought him upon his Knees: And howsoever, before this glorious Work was fully accomplished, it pleased God to put a Period to her Days; yet lived she long enough to see just Vengeance brought down upon the Head of that unnatural Disturber of the Peace of the Kingdom, himself in a Manner wholly deserted, his Country most miserably wasted, and a general Desolation and Famine brought in, mightily consuming what was left undevoured by the Sword.

It is very easy to conjecture in what a most miserable Condition *Ireland* then was, the *English* Colonies being for the most Part barbarously rooted out; the Remainder degenerated into *Irish* Manners and Names; the very *Irish* themselves most mightily wasted and destroyed by the late Wars, and thereby much of the Kingdom depopulated; in every Place large Monu-
ments

ments of Calamity and undiscontinued Troubles.

King *James* of blessed Memory found it, at his first Accession to the Crown of *England*, in this deplorable Estate ; whereupon he presently took into his Care the peaceable Settlement of *Ireland*, and civilizing of the People : And, conceiving that the powerful Conjunction of *England* and *Scotland* would now over-awe the *Irish*, and contain them in their due Obedience, resolved not to take any Advantage of these Forfeitures and great Confiscation, which he was most justly intitled unto by *Tyrone's* Rebellion ; but, out of his royal Bounty and princely Magnificence, restored all the Natives to the entire Possession of their own Lands. A work most munificent in itself, and such as he had Reason to believe would, for the Time to come, perpetually oblige their Obedience to the Crown of *England*. And in this State the Kingdom continued under some indifferent Terms of Peace and Tranquility, until the sixth Year of his Reign : Then did the Earl of *Tyrone* take up new thoughts of rising in Arms, and into his rebellious Design he easily drew the whole Province of *Ulster*, then entirely at his Devotion. But his Plot failed, and he, finding himself not able to get together any considerable Forces, with the principal of his Adherents, quitting the Kingdom, fled into *Spain*, leaving some busy Incendiaries to foment those Beginnings he had laid for a new Rebellion in *Ireland*, and promising speedily to return well-attended with foreign Succours to their Aid : But, by the great Blessing of Almighty God upon the wise Councils of that King, and the careful Endeavours of his vigilant Ministers, the Disturbances, occasioned by the Noise of that Commotion, were soon allayed, and *Tyrone*, never returning, the Peace of the Kingdom, was much confirmed and settled. King *James* here-

upon being now so justly provoked by the high Ingratitude of these *rebellious* Traitors, caused their Persons to be attainted, their Lands to be seized, and those six Counties within the Province of *Ulster*, which belonged unto them, to be *surveyed*; and all, except some small Parts of them, reserved to gratify the well-affected Natives, to be distributed in certain Proportions among *British* Undertakers, who came over and settled themselves, and many other British Families in those Parts.

By this Means the Foundations of some good Towns, soon after encompassed with Stone-walls, were presently laid, several Castles and Houses of Strength built in several Parts of the Country, great Numbers of *British* Inhabitants there settled, to the great Comfort and Security of the whole Kingdom. And the same Course was taken likewise for the better Assurance of the Peace of the Country, in the Plantation of several Parts of *Lemster*, where the *Irish* had made Incursions, and violently expelled the old *English* out of their Possessions: But howsoever the King was, by due Course of Law, justly intitled to all their whole Estates there; yet he was graciously pleased to take but one fourth Part of their Lands, which was delivered over likewise into the Hands of *British* Undertakers, who, with great Cost and much Industry, planted themselves so firmly, as they became of great Security to the Country, and were a most especial Means to introduce Civility in those Parts: So as now the whole Kingdom began exceedingly to flourish in costly Buildings, and all manner of Improvements; the People to multiply and increase, and the very *Irish* seemed to be much satisfied with the Benefits of
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that peaceable Government, and general Tranquility, which they so happily enjoyed.

And now of late, such was the great Indulgence of K. Charles, our Sovereign that now reigneth, to his Subjects of *Ireland*, as that, in the Year 1640, upon their Complaints, and a general Remonstrance sent over unto him from both Houses of Parliament then sitting at *Dublin*, by a Committee (q) of four temporal Lords of the Upper-house, and twelve Members of the House of Commons, with Instructions to represent the heavy Pressures they had for some time suffered under the Government of the Earl of *Strafford*, he took their Grievances into his royal Consideration, descended so far to their Satisfaction, as that he heard them himself, and made present Provisions for their Redress: And, upon the Decease of Mr. *Wandsford*, Master of the Rolls in *Ireland*, and then Lord Deputy here under the said Earl of *Strafford*, who still continued Lord Lieutenant of this Kingdom, though then accused of High Treason, and imprisoned in the Tower of *London*, by the Parliament of *England*, his Majesty sent a Commission of Government to the Lord *Dillon*, of *Kilkenny-West*, and Sir *William Parsons*, Knight and Baronet, Master of the Wards in *Ireland*; yet soon after, finding the Choice of the Lord *Dillon* to be much disgusted by the Committee, he did, at

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their

(q) *Irish Commissioners*, 1640. — *The Lords*: Lord Viscount *Germanstone*, Lord Viscount *Kilmaloe*, Lord Viscount *Costeloe*, Lord Viscount *Ballingla*. — *Commons*: *Lemster*, *Nic. Plunket*, — *Digbie*, *Richard Fitz-garret*, *Nic. Barnewall*, Esq; — *Munster*, Sir *Hardress Waller*, *Jo. Welsh*, Sir *Dounogh Mac-Carti*. — *Conaght*, *Robert Linc's*, *Coffrie Browne*, *Thomas Burke* — *Ulster*, Sir *William Cole*, Sir *James Montgomery*.

their Motion, cause the said Commission to be cancelled, and, with their Consent and Approbation, placed the Government upon Sir *William Parsons*, and Sir *John Borlace*, Knight, Master of the Ordnance, both esteemed Persons of great Integrity; and the Master of the Wards, by reason of his very long continued Employment in the State, his particular Knowledge of the Kingdom, much valued and well-beloved among the People.

They took the Sword upon the 9th of *February*, 1640, and in the first Place, they applied themselves with all manner of gentle Lenitives to mollify the sharp Humours raised by the rigid Passages in the former Government; they declared themselves against all such Proceedings lately used, as they found any ways varying from the Common Law; they gave all due Encouragement to the Parliament then sitting, to endeavour the reasonable Ease and Contentment of the People, freely assenting to all such Acts as really tended to a *legal Reformation*: They betook themselves wholly to the Advice of the Council, and caused all Matters, as well of the Crown, as popular Interest, to be handled in his Majesty's Courts of Justice, no ways admitting the late Exorbitancies, so bitterly decried in Parliament, of Paper-petitions or Bills, in civil Cases, to be brought before them at the Council-board, or before any other by their Authority: They, by his Majesty's gracious Directions, gave way to the Parliament to abate the Subsidies (first given in the Earl of *Straford's* Time, and then in Collection) from 40,000 *l.* each Subsidy, to 12,000 *l.* a-piece; so low did they think fit to reduce them: And they were further content, because they saw his Majesty

Majesty most absolutely resolved to give the *Irish* Agents full Satisfaction, to draw up two Acts, to be passed in the Parliament, most impetuously desired by the Natives. The one was the Act of *Limitations*, which unquestionably settled all Estates of Land in the Kingdom, quietly enjoyed, without Claim or Interruption, for the Space of sixty Years immediately preceding: The other was for the *Relinquishment of the Right and Title*, which his Majesty had to the four Counties in *Conaght*, legally found for him by several Inquisitions taken in them, and ready to be disposed of, upon a due Survey, to *British* Undertakers; as also to some Territories of good Extent in *Munster*, and the County of *Clare*, upon the same Title.

Thus was the present Government most sweetly tempered, and carried on with great Lenity and Moderation; the Lords Justices and Council, wholly departing from the Rigour of former Courses, did gently unbend themselves into a happy and just Compliance with the seasonable Desires of the People: And his Majesty, that he might further testify his own settled Resolution, for the Continuation thereof with the same tender Hand over them, having first given full Satisfaction in all Things to the said Committee of Parliament, still attending their Dispatch, did, about the latter End of *May*, 1641, declare *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, Lord Lieutenant General of the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

He was Heir to Sir *Philip Sidney* his Uncle, as well as to Sir *Henry Sidney* his Grandfather, who, with great Honour and much Integrity, long continued chief Governour of *Ireland* during the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; and, being

ing a Person of excellent Abilities by Nature, great Acquisitions from his own private Industry and public Employment abroad, of exceeding great Temper and Moderation, was never engaged in any public Pressures of the Commonwealth; and therefore most likely to prove a just and gentle Governor, most pleasing and acceptable to the People.

Moreover, the *Romish* Catholics now privately enjoyed the free Exercise of their Religion throughout the whole Kingdom, according to the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*. They had, by their over great Indulgence of the late Governours, their titular Archbishops, Bishops, Vicars-general, Provincial-consistories, Deans, Abbots, Priors, Nuns, who all lived freely, though somewhat covertly among them, and, without Controul, exercised a voluntary Jurisdiction over them; they had their Priests, Jesuits, and Friars, who were of late Years exceedingly multiplied, and in great Numbers returned out of *Spain*, *Italy*, and other foreign Parts, whither the Children of the Natives of *Ireland*, that Way devoted, were sent usually to receive their Education. And these, without any manner of Restraint, had quietly settled themselves in all the chief Towns, Villages, Noblemen and private Gentlemen's Houses throughout the Kingdom: So as the private Exercise of all their religious Rites and Ceremonies was freely enjoyed by them, without any manner of Disturbance, and not any of the Laws put in Execution, whereby heavy Penalties were to be inflicted upon Transgressors in that Kind.

And for the antient Animosities and Hatred, which the *Irish* had been ever observed to bear
unto

unto the *English* Nation, they seemed now to be quite deposited and buried in a firm Conglutination of their Affections, and national Obligations passed between them. The two Nations had now lived together 40 Years in Peace, with great Security and Comfort, which had in a manner consolidated them into one Body, knit and compacted together with all those Bonds and Ligatures of Friendship, Alliance, and Consanguinity, as might make up a constant and perpetual Union betwixt them. Their Intermarriages were frequent, Gossiped, Fostering, Relations of much Dearness among the *Irish*, together with all others of Tenancy, Neighbourhood, and Service, interchangeably passed among them: Nay, they had made as it were a Kind of mutual Transmigration into each other's Manners, many *English* being strangely degenerated into *Irish* Affections and Customs; and many *Irish*, especially of the better Sort, having taken up the *English* Language, Apparel, and decent Manner of Living in their private Houses: And so great an Advantage did they find, by the *English* Commerce and Cohabitation, in the Profits and high Improvements of their Lands and native Commodities, so incomparably beyond what they ever formerly enjoyed, or could expect to raise by their own proper Industry, as Sir *Phelim O Neale*, and many others of the prime Leaders in this Rebellion, had not long before turned their *Irish* Tenants out of their Lands, as some of them said to me, when I enquired the Reason of their so doing, even to starve upon the Mountains, while they took on *English*, who were able to give them much greater Rents, and more certainly pay the same. A Matter that was much taken
notice

notice of, and esteemed by many, as most highly conducing to the Security of the *English* Interests and Plantation among them. So as, all these Circumstances duly weighed, together with the Removal of the late Obstructions, the great Increase of Trade, and many other evident Symptoms of a flourishing Commonwealth, it was believed, even by the wisest and best-experienced in the Affairs of *Ireland*, that the Peace and Tranquility of the Kingdom was now fully settled, and most likely, in all human Probability, to continue, without any considerable Interruption, in the present Felicity and great Prosperity it now enjoyed, under the Government of his Majesty that now reigneth.

In *August*, 1641, the Lords Justices and Council, finding the *Popish* Party in both Houses of Parliament to be grown to so great a Heighth, as was scarcely compatible with the present Government, were very desirous to have an Adjournment made for three Months, which was readily assented unto and performed by the Members of both Houses. And this was done not many Days before the Return of the Committee, formerly mentioned, out of *England*: They arrived at *Dublin* about the latter End of *August*, and, presently after their Return, they applied themselves to the Lords Justices and Council, desiring to have all those Acts and other Graces granted by his Majesty made known unto the People, by Proclamations to be sent down into several Parts of the Country; which, while the Lords Justice took into their Consideration, and sat daily composing of Acts to be passed the next Session of Parliament, for the Benefit of his Majesty, and the Good of his Subjects, they seemed, with great Contentment and Satisfaction,

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to retire into the Country to their several Habitations, that they might there refresh themselves in the mean Season.

The Discovery of the Conspiracy of the Irish, to seize upon the Castle and City of Dublin; and their general Rising, at the same Time, in all the Northern Parts of this Kingdom.

SUCH was now the State and present Condition of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, such the great Serenity through the gentle and happy Transaction of the public Affairs here, as that the late *Irish* Army, raised for the Invasion of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, being peaceably disbanded, their Arms and Ammunition, by the singular Care of the Lords Justices and Council, brought into his Majesty's Stores with the City of *Dublin*, there was no manner of warlike Preparations, no Relicks of any kind of Disorders proceeding from the late Levies, nor indeed any Noise of War remaining within these Coasts. Now, while, in this great Calm, the *British* continued in a most deep Security, under the Assurance of the blessed Peace of this Land; which all Things were carried on with great Temper and Moderation in the present Government, and all Men sat pleasantly enjoying the comfortable Fruits of their own Labours, without the least Thoughts or Apprehension of either Tumults or other Troubles, the Differences between his Majesty, and his Subjects of *Scotland*, being about this Time fairly composed and settled, there broke out, upon the 23d of *October* 1641, a most desperate and formidable Rebellion,
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an universal Defection and general Revolt, wherein not only all the meer *Irish*, but almost all the old *English*, that adhered to the Church of *Rome*, were totally involved: And, because it will be necessary to leave some Monuments hereof to Posterity, I shall observe the Beginnings and first Motions, as well as trace out the Progress, of a *Rebellion* so execrable in itself, so odious to God and the whole World, as no Age, no Kingdom, no People can parallel the horrid Cruelties, the abominable Murders, that have been without Number, as well as without Mercy, committed upon the *British* Inhabitants throughout the Land, of what Sex or Age, of what Quality or Condition soever they were.

And first I must needs say, howsoever I have observed, in the Nature of the *Irish*, such a Kind of dull and deep Reservedness, as makes them, with much Silence and Secrecy, to carry on their Business: Yet I cannot but consider, with great Admiration, how this mischievous Plot, which was to be so generally at the same Time, and at so many several Places acted, and therefore necessarily known to so many several Persons, should, without any Noise, be brought to such Maturity, as to arrive at the very Point of Execution, without any Notice or Intimation given to any two of that huge Multitude of Persons who were generally designed, as most of them did, to perish in it. For, besides the uncertain Presumptions that Sir *William Cole* had, of a Commotion to be raised by the *Irish* in the Province of *Ulster*, about a Fortnight before this *Rebellion* broke openly out, and some certain Intelligence which he received of the same two Days before the *Irish* rose, I could never hear, that any *Englishman* received any certain Notice
of

of this Conspiracy, before the very Evening that it was to be generally put in Execution. It is true, Sir *William Cole*, upon the very first Apprehensions of something that he conceived to be hatching among the *Irish*, did write a Letter to the Lords Justices and Council, dated the 11th of *October*, 1641, wherein he gave them Notice of the great Resort made to Sir *Phelim O Neale*, in the County of *Tyrone*, as also to the House of the Lord *Mac-Guire*, in the County of *Fermanagh*, and that by several suspected Persons, fit Instruments for Mischief: As also, that the said Lord *Mac-Guire* had of late made several Journies into the *Pale*, and other Places, and had spent his Time much in writing Letters, and sending Dispatches abroad.

These Letters were received by the Lords Justices and Council, and they, in answer to them, required him to be very vigilant and industrious, to find out what should be the Occasion of those several Meetings, and speedily to advertise them thereof, or of any other Particulars that he conceived might tend to the public Service of the State. And for that which was revealed to Sir *William Cole* upon the 21st of *October* the same Month, by *John Cormacke*, and *Flarty Mac-Hugh*, from *Brian Mac-Cobamaght*, *Mac-Guire*, touching the Resolution of the *Irish*, to seize upon his Majesty's Castle and City of *Dublin*, to murder the Lords Justices and Council of *Ireland*, and the rest of the *Protestants* there, and to seize upon all the Castles, Forts, Sea-ports, and Holds, that were in Possession of the *Protestants* within the Kingdom of *Ireland*, I find, by the Examination of *John Cormacke*, taken upon Oath at *Westminster*, Nov. 18, 1644, that the said Sir *William Cole* did dispatch Letters,

Letters, to the Lords Justices and Council, the same Day to give them Notice thereof. But I can also testify that those Letters, whether they were intercepted, or that they otherways miscarried, I cannot say, came not unto their Hands; as also, that they had not any certain Notice of this general Conspiracy of the *Irish*, until the 22d of *October* in the very Evening before the Day appointed for the Surprise of the Castle and City of *Dublin*.

Then the Conspirators, being many of them arrived within the City, and having that Day met at the *Lion-Tavern*, near *Copper-Alley*, and there, turning the Drawer out of the Room, ordered their Affairs together, drank Healths upon their Knees to the happy Success of the next Morning's Work: *Owen O Conally*, a Gentleman of a meer *Irish* Family, but one that had long lived among the *English*, and been trained up in the true *Protestant* Religion, came unto the Lord Justice *Parsons*, about nine of the Clock that Evening, and made him a broken Relation of a great Conspiracy, for the seizing upon his Majesty's Castle of *Dublin*: He gave him the Names of some of the chief Conspirators, assured him they were come up expressly to the Town for the same Purpose; and that next Morning they would undoubtedly attempt, and surely effect it, if their Design were not speedily prevented; and that he had understood all this from *Hugh Mac-Mabon*, one of the chief Conspirators, who was then in the Town, and came up the very same Afternoon for the Execution of the Plot; and with whom indeed he had been drinking somewhat liberally; and, as the Truth is, did then make such a broken Relation of a Matter that seemed so incredible in itself,

self, as that his Lordship gave very little Belief to it at first, in regard it came from an obscure Person, and one as he conceived somewhat distempered at that Time.

However, the Lord *Parsons* gave him Order to go again to *Mac-Mahon*, and to get out of him as much Certainty of the Plot, with as many particular Circumstances as he could, strictly charging him to return back unto him the same Evening. And in the mean Time, having, by strict Commands given to the Constable of the Castle, taken Order to have the Gates thereof well guarded, as also with the Major and Sheriffs of the City to have strong Watches set upon all the Parts of the same, and to make Stay of all Strangers, he went privately, about ten of the Clock that Night, to the Lord *Borlace's* House without the Town; and, there acquainting him with what he understood from *Conally*, they sent for such of the Council as they knew then to be in the Town; but there came only unto them that Night Sir *Thomas Rotheram*, and Sir *Robert Meredith*, Chancellor of the Exchequer: With these they fell into Consultation what was fit to be done, attending the Return of *Conally*; and, finding that he staid somewhat longer than the Time prefixed, they sent out in search after him, and found him seized on by the Watch, and so he had been carried away to Prison, and the Discovery that Night disappointed, had not one of the Lord *Parsons's* Servants, expressly sent amongst others to walk the Streets, and attend the Motion of the said *Conally*, come in and rescued him, and brought him to the Lord *Borlace's* House.

Conally,

Conally, having somewhat recovered himself from his Distemper, occasioned partly, as he said himself, by the Horror of the Plot revealed to him, partly by his too liberal drinking with *Mac-Mabon*, that he might the more easily get away from him, (he beginning much to suspect and fear his discovering the Plot) confirmed what he had formerly related ; and added these farther Particulars, set down in his Examination, as follow :

The Examination of Owen O Conally, Gentleman, taken before us whose Names ensue, October, 22, 1641.

WHO, being duly sworn and examined, saith,
 ‘ That he, being at *Monimore*, in the County
 ‘ of *London-derry*, on *Tuesday* last, received a
 ‘ Letter from Colonel *Hugh-Oge Mac-Mabon*,
 ‘ desiring him to come to *Conaught*, in the Coun-
 ‘ ty of *Monaghan*, and to be with him on *Wed-*
 ‘ *nesday* or *Thursday* last ; whereupon he, this
 ‘ Examinant came to *Conaught*, on *Wednesday*
 ‘ Night last, and, finding the said *Hugh* come
 ‘ to *Dublin*, followed him thither : He came
 ‘ hither about six of the Clock this Evening,
 ‘ and forthwith went to the Lodging of the said
 ‘ *Hugh*, to the House near the Boat in *Oxman-*
 ‘ *town*, and there he found the said *Hugh*, and
 ‘ came with the said *Hugh* into the Town, near
 ‘ the Pillory, to the Lodging of the Lord *Mac-*
 ‘ *Guire*, where they found not the Lord within ;
 ‘ and there they drank a Cup of Beer, and
 ‘ then went back again to the said *Hugh*’s Lodg-
 ‘ ing.’

He saith, ‘ That at the Lord *Mac Guire*’s
 ‘ Lodging, the said *Hugh* told him, that there
 ‘ were,

‘ were, and would be this Night great Numbers
 ‘ of Noblemen, and Gentlemen of the *Irish*
 ‘ *Papists*, from all the Parts of the Kingdom, in
 ‘ this Town, who with himself had determined to
 ‘ take the Castle of *Dublin*, and possess them-
 ‘ selves of all his Majesty’s Ammunition there
 ‘ To-morrow Morning, being *Saturday*; and
 ‘ that they intended first to batter the Chimnies
 ‘ of the said Town, and, if the City would not
 ‘ yield, then to batter down the Houses, and so
 ‘ to cut off all the *Protestants* that would not
 ‘ join with them.’

He further saith, ‘ That the said *Hugh* then
 ‘ told him, that the *Irish* had prepared Men in
 ‘ all Parts of the Kingdom, to destroy all the
 ‘ *English* inhabiting there To-morrow Morning
 ‘ by ten of the Clock; and that in all the Sea-
 ‘ Ports, and other Towns in the Kingdom, all
 ‘ the *Protestants* should be killed this Night;
 ‘ and that all the Posts that could be could not
 ‘ prevent it.’

And further saith, ‘ That he moved the said
 ‘ *Hugh* to forbear executing of that Business,
 ‘ and to discover it to the State, for the saving
 ‘ of his own Estate; who said he could not
 ‘ help it: But said, that they did owe their Al-
 ‘ legiance to the King, and would pay him all
 ‘ his Rights; but that they did this for the ty-
 ‘ rannical Government that was over them, and
 ‘ to imitate *Scotland*, who got a Privilege by
 ‘ that Course.’ And he further saith, ‘ That,
 ‘ when he was with the said *Hugh* in his Lodg-
 ‘ ing the second time, the said *Hugh* swore,
 ‘ that he should not go out of his Lodging that
 ‘ Night; but told him, that he should go with
 ‘ him the next Morning to the Castle; and said,
 ‘ If this Matter were discovered, some body

‘ should die for it: Whereupon this Examinant,
 ‘ feigning some Necessity for his Ease ment, went
 ‘ down out of the Chamber, and left his Sword
 ‘ in Pawn, and the said *Hugh* sent his Man
 ‘ down with him; and, when this Examinant
 ‘ came down into the Yard, and finding an Op-
 ‘ portunity, he, this Examinant, leaped over a
 ‘ Wall, and two Pales, and so came to the
 ‘ Lord Justice *Parsons*.’

William Parsons,
Tho. Rotheram,
Rob. Meredith.

OWEN O CONALLY.

October 22, 1641.

Hereupon the Lord's took present Order to have a Watch privately set upon the Lodging of *Mac-Mabon*, as also upon the Lord *Mac-Guire's*, and so they sat up all that Night in Consultation, having far stronger Presumptions upon this latter Examination taken, than any ways at first they could entertain. The Lords Justices, upon a further Consideration, there being come unto them early next Morning several other of the Privy Council, sent before Day, and seized upon *Mac-Mabon*, then with his Servant in his own Lodging: They at first made some little Resistance with their drawn Swords; but, finding themselves over-mastered, presently yielded; and so they were brought before the Lords Justices and Council, still sitting at the Lord *Borlace's* House: Where, upon Examination, he did, without much Difficulty, confess the Plot; resolutely telling them, That on that very Day all the Forts and strong Places in *Ireland* would be taken: That he with the Lord
 • *Mac-*

Mac-Guire, *Hugh Birn*, Capt. *Brian O Neale*, and several other *Irish* Gentlemen, were come up expressly to surprize the Castle of *Dublin*: That twenty Men, out of each County in the Kingdom, were to be here to join with them: That all the Lords and Gentlemen in the Kingdom, that were *Papists*, were engaged in this Plot: That what was that Day to be done in other Parts of the Country, was so far advanced by that Time, as it was impossible for the Wit of Man to prevent it: And withal told them, That it was true, they had him in their Power, and might use him how they pleased, but he was sure he should be revenged.

By this Time the Noise of this Conspiracy began to be confusedly spread abroad about the Town, and Advertisement was brought unto the Lords Justices then in Council, that great Numbers of Strangers had been observed to come the last Evening, and in the Morning early, unto the Town, and most of them to set up their Horses in the Suburbs: Whereupon the Lords, having in the first Place taken Order for the Apprehension of the Lord *Mac-Guire*, removed themselves, for their better Security, unto the Castle, where the Body of the Council then in Town attended them at the ordinary Place of their Meeting there.

In the first Place they caused a present Search to be made for all such Horses belonging to Strangers as were brought into any Inns, and by that Means they discovered some of the Owners, who were presently seized upon, and committed to the Castle of *Dublin*, having already delivered over, to the Custody of the Constable there, the Lord *Mac-Guire*, and *Hugh Mac-Mahon*; but *Hugh Birn*, and *Roger Moore*, chiefs

of the Conspirators, escaped over the River in the Night; and Colonel *Plunket*, Captain *Fox*, with several others found Means likewise to pass away undiscerned; and of the great Numbers, which came up out of several Counties, to be Actors in Taking of the Castle and City of *Dublin*, there were not, through the slack Pursuit and great Negligence of the Inhabitants, above thirty seized upon, most of them Servants and inconsiderable Persons; those of Quality having so many good Friends within the Town, as they had very ill Luck if apprehended.

The same Day, before the Lords rose from Council, they took Order for this Proclamation which here followeth to be made and published.

By the Lords Justices and Council.

‘ W. PARSONS, JOHN BORLACE. ’

‘ THESE are to make known and publish to
 ‘ all his Majesty’s good Subjects in this King-
 ‘ dom of *Ireland*, That there is a Discovery
 ‘ made by us, the Lords Justices and Council,
 ‘ of a most disloyal and detestable Conspiracy,
 ‘ intended, by some evil-affected *Irish Papists*,
 ‘ against the Lives of us the Lords Justices and
 ‘ Council, and many other of his Majesty’s
 ‘ faithful Subjects, universally throughout
 ‘ this Kingdom; and for the seizing not
 ‘ only of his Majesty’s Castle of *Dublin*, his
 ‘ Majesty’s principal Fort here; but also of the
 ‘ other Fortifications in the Kingdom: And
 ‘ seeing, by the great Goodness and abundant
 ‘ Mercy of Almighty God to his Majesty, and
 ‘ this State and Kingdom, those wicked Con-
 ‘ spiracies are brought to light, and some of the
 ‘ Con-

‘ Conspirators committed to the Castle of *Dublin*, by us, by his Majesty’s Authority, so as
 ‘ those wicked and damnable Plots are now dis-
 ‘ appointed in the chief Parts thereof, we
 ‘ therefore have thought fit hereby not only to
 ‘ make it publicly known, for the Comfort of
 ‘ his Majesty’s good and loyal Subjects in all
 ‘ Parts of the Kingdom, but also hereby to re-
 ‘ quire them, that they do, with all Confidence
 ‘ and Chearfulness, betake themselves to their
 ‘ own Defence, and stand upon their Guard, so
 ‘ to render the more Safety to themselves, and
 ‘ all the Kingdom besides; and that they adver-
 ‘ tise us, with all possible Speed, of all Oc-
 ‘ currences, which may concern the Peace and
 ‘ Safety of the Kingdom; and now to shew
 ‘ fully that Faith and Loyalty, which they have
 ‘ always shewn for the public Services of the
 ‘ Crown and Kingdom, which we will value
 ‘ to his Majesty accordingly; and a special Me-
 ‘ mory thereof will be retained for their Advan-
 ‘ tage in due Time. And we require that
 ‘ great Care be taken that no Levies of Men be
 ‘ made for foreign Service, nor any Men suf-
 ‘ fered to march upon any such Pretence.
 ‘ Given at his Majesty’s Castle of *Dublin*, the
 ‘ 23d of *October*, 1641. God save the King.

‘ <i>R. Dillon,</i>	<i>Ro. Digby,</i>
‘ <i>Ad. Loftus,</i>	<i>I. Temple,</i>
‘ <i>Tho. Rotheram,</i>	<i>Fr. Willoughby,</i>
‘ <i>Ja. Ware,</i>	<i>Ro. Meredith.</i>

This Proclamation was presently printed, and
 several Copies sent down by expresse Messengers
 unto the principal Noblemen and Gentlemen in

several Parts of the Country, where they caused them to be divers Ways disperfed, hoping that, when the timely Discovery of this Conspiracy, and the happy Prevention in a great part, should fully appear abroad, it would prove so great a Discouragement to such of the Conspirators, as had not yet openly declared themselves, as that they would thereby be contained within the Bounds of their Duty and Obedience to his Majesty.

The same Night the Lord *Blaney* arrived with the News of the Surprisal of his House, his Wife, and his Children, by the Rebels of the County of *Monaghan*. Next Day came Advertisment from Sir *Arthur Tyringham*, of the Taking of the *Newry*; and then the sad Relations of Burning, Spoiling, and horrible Murders, committed within the Province of *Ulster*, began to multiply, and several Persons every Day, and almost every Hour in every Day, for a good while after, arrived, like *Job's* Messengers, telling the Story of their own Sufferings, and the fearful Massacres of the poor *English* in those Parts from whence they came.

These Things wrought such a general Consternation and Astonishment in the Minds of all the *English* and other Inhabitants, well-affected within the City, as they were much affrighted therewith, expecting every Hour when the *Irish*, already crept into the Town, joining with the *Papists* there, should make the City a Theatre, whereon to act the second Part of that Tragedy, most bloodily begun in the Northern Parts by them.

And it added most extremely to these present Fears, that several unhappy Rumours, the great Tormentors of the weaker Sex, were vainly spread abroad, of the sudden Approach of
great

great Numbers of Rebels out of the adjacent *Irish* Counties into this City: Some would make us believe, that they were discerned at some Distance already marching down from the Mountain-side within View of the Town; a Report so credibly delivered by those who pretended to be Eye-witnesses, that it drew some of the State up to the Platform of the Castle to behold those who were yet invisible; though there were them that would not be persuaded, but that they saw the very Motions of the Men as they marched down the Mountains.

It was at the same Time also generally noised abroad, that there were 10,000 of the *Rebels* gotten together in a Body at the Hill of *Tarah*, a Place not above sixteen Miles distant from the Town; and that they intended, without any further Delay, to march on and presently surprise the same. These false Rumours being unluckily spread, and by some fomented out of evil Ends, exceedingly increased the present Distractions of the People, and raised such a panic Fear among them, as, about seven of the Clock at Night, the Lords Justices, and some of the Council, being then in the Council-chamber within the Castle, there came in to them a Gentleman of good Quality, who having, not without much Difficulty, as he pretended, recovered the Gate of the Castle, caused the Warders then attending to draw up the Bridge, assuring them, that the *Rebels*, gathered together in great Numbers, had already possessed themselves of a good Part of the Town, and came now with great Fury marching down the Street that leads directly towards the Castle-gate.

But this Fear was quickly removed by Sir *Francis Willoughby*, who, being that Day made

Governour of the Castle, caused the Draw-bridge to be let down, and so found this to be a false Alarm, occasioned by some Mistake fallen among the People, who continued waving up and down the Streets, prepossessed with strange Fears; and some of them, upon some slender Accident, drawing their Swords, others, that knew not the Cause, thought fit to follow the Example; and so came to appear to this Gentleman, who was none of their Company, as so many *Rebels* coming up to enter the Castle.

These were the first Beginnings of our Sorrows, ill Symptoms, and sad Preparatives to the ensuing Evils: Therefore the Lords finding by several Intelligences, though some purposely framed, that the Power of the *Rebels* was suddenly swollen up to so great a Bulk, and likely so fast to multiply and increase upon them, thought it high time to consider of the Remedies, and in what Condition they were to oppose, since they could not prevent so imminent, a Danger. The *Rebellion* now appeared, without all manner of Question, to be generally raised in all Parts of the North, and like a Torrent to come down most impetuously upon them: Besides, it was no ways improbable, that all other Parts of the Kingdom would take fire, and follow their Example; for they had the Testimony of *MacMahon* positive therein.

The first Thing therefore, which they took into Consideration, was, how they were provided of Money, Arms, and Ammunition? Then, what Companies of Foot, and Troops of Horse of the old Army they were able to draw presently together? As also what Numbers of new Men they could suddenly raise? For the first,

first, they had this short Account from the Vice-treasurer, That there was no Money in the *Exchequer*: And certainly it was a main Policy, in the first Contrivers of this *Rebellion*, to plot the breaking of it out at such a Time when the *Exchequer* should be empty, and all the King's Revenues, both certain and casual, due for that Half-year, as well as the Rents of all the *British* throughout the Kingdom, should be found ready either in the Tenants or Collectors Hands in the Country, and so necessarily fall under their Power, as they did to their great Advantage.

For Arms and Ammunition, the Stores were indifferently well furnished at this Time: For, besides several Pieces of Artillery of divers Sorts, most of them fitted for present Service, there were Arms for near 10,000 Men, 1500 Barrels of Powder, with Match and Lead proportionable, laid in by the Earl of *Strafford*, late Lord Lieutenant, not long before, and designed another Way; but so opportunely reserved for this Service, as the good Providence of God did exceedingly appear therein; but principally in the miraculous Preservation of them out of the Hands of the *Rebels*, who made the Surprisal of these Provisions, then all within the Castle of *Dublin*, the common Store-house of them, a main Part of their Design. The old standing Army, as appears by this List, consisted only of 41 Companies of Foot, and 14 Troops of Horse.

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*A List of his Majesty's Army in Ireland,
1641, before the Rebellion began.*

*Foot-Companies consisting of six Officers, viz. Cap-
tain, Lieutenant, Ensign, Chirurgion, Serjeant
and Drum, and forty-four Soldiers each Company.*

Lord Lieutenant's Guard	45
Sir Robert Farrar	44
Sir Thomas Wharton	44
Sir George Saint-George	44
Captain Francis Butler	44
Sir William Saint-Leguer	44
Lord Docwra	44
Lord Blaney	44
Sir Robert Steward	44
Lord Viscount Ranelagh	44
Lord Viscount Baltinglas	44
Sir John Vaughan	44
Captain George Blount	44
Sir Henry Tichbourne	44
Sir Frederick Hamilton	44
Lord Castle-Stewart	44
▲ Sir Lorenzo Cary	44
Captain Chichester Fortescue	44
Sir John Gifford	44
Captain John Barry	44
Sir John Neutervile	44
Captain Thomas Rockley	44
Sir Arthur Tyringham	44
Captain Philip Wenman	44
Captain Charles Price	44
Sir Charles Coote	44
Captain Thomas Games	44
Sir Francis Willoughby	44
Sir	

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Sir <i>John Borlace</i>	44
Captain <i>Robert Bailey</i>	44
Sir <i>Arthur Loftus</i>	44
Captain <i>William Billingsley</i>	44
The Lord <i>Esmond</i>	44
The Lord <i>Lambert</i>	44
Sir <i>George Hamilton</i>	44
Lord <i>Folliot</i>	44
Sir <i>William Stewart</i>	44
Captain <i>Robert Biron</i>	44
Sir <i>John Sherlock</i>	44
The Earl of <i>Clanricard</i>	44
Captain <i>John Ogle</i>	44

These Companies contain Officers	146	}	In all	}	2297
Soldiers	2051				

Horse-Troops.

The Earl of <i>Leicester</i> , Lord Lieutenant-general, his Troop, consisting of Captain Lieutenant, Cornet, and Horsemen	108
The Earl of <i>Ormond's</i> Troops, like Officers, and Horsemen	107
The Earl of <i>Strafford's</i> Troop, like Officers and Horsemen	58
Lord <i>Dillon's</i> Troop, like Officers and Horsemen	58
Lord <i>Wilmot's</i> Troop, like Officers and Horsemen	58
Sir <i>William Saint-Leguer</i> , Lord President of <i>Munster</i> , the like	58
Lord Viscount <i>Moore</i> , the like	58
Lord Viscount <i>Grandison</i> , the like	58
Lord Viscount <i>Cromwel</i> of <i>Lescalle</i> , the like	58
Captain <i>Arthur Chichester</i> , the like	58
Sir	

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Sir <i>George Wentworth</i> , the like	58
Sir <i>John Borlace</i> , the like	58
Lord Viscount <i>Conway</i> , the like	58
Sir <i>Adam Loftus</i> , the like	58

These Troops contain Officers 42 }
 Horsemen 901 } In all { 943

These were so strangely dispersed most of them into the remote Parts of the Kingdom, for the Guard of several Forts and other Places, as it fell out to be in a manner most impossible to draw a considerable Number of them together in any Time, either for the Defence of the City, or the making head against the *Rebels* in the North: And besides, it was much to be suspected, the Companies lying severally so remote, and ill furnished with Ammunition, could with little Safety march to *Dublin*. Yet the Lords sent Potents presently away to require several Companies of Foot, and some Troops of Horse presently to rise, and march up from their several Garrisons towards the City of *Dublin*.

And now it was held high time to give an Account unto his Majesty, then at *Edinburgh*, in his Kingdom of *Scotland*, and to the Lord Lieutenant, continuing still at *London*, the Parliament still sitting there, of the Breaking-out of this *Rebellion*, the ill Condition of the Kingdom, the Wants of the State, and the Supplies absolutely necessary for their present Defence and Preservation. And, because the Letter to the Lord Lieutenant doth most clearly represent several Particulars which may much conduce to the Knowledge of the Affairs, I have thought fit to insert a true Copy of it, which here followeth.

‘ May

‘ *May it please your Lordship,*

‘ On *Friday*, the two and twentieth of this
 ‘ Month, after nine of the Clock at Night,
 ‘ this Bearer, *Owen Conally*, Servant to Sir *John*
 ‘ *Clotworthy*, Kt. came to me, the Lord Justice
 ‘ *Parsons*, to my House, and in great Secrecy,
 ‘ as indeed the Cause did require, discovered
 ‘ unto me a most wicked and damnable Con-
 ‘ spiracy, plotted, contrived, and intended to
 ‘ be also acted, by some evil-affected *Irish Pa-*
 ‘ *pists* here. The Plot was on the then next
 ‘ Morning, *Saturday* the 23d of *October*, being
 ‘ *St. Ignatius’s* Day, about nine of the Clock,
 ‘ to surprise his Majesty’s Castle of *Dublin*, his
 ‘ Majesty’s chief Strength of this Kingdom,
 ‘ wherein also is the principal Magazine of his
 ‘ Majesty’s Arms and Ammunition; and it
 ‘ was agreed, it seems, amongst them, that at
 ‘ the same Hour all other his Majesty’s Forts,
 ‘ and Magazines of Arms and Ammunition in
 ‘ this Kingdom, should be surpris’d by others
 ‘ of those Conspirators; and further, that all
 ‘ the *Protestants* and *English* throughout the
 ‘ whole Kingdom, that would not join with them,
 ‘ should be cut off, and so those *Papists* should
 ‘ then become possessed of the Government and
 ‘ Kingdom at the same Instant.

‘ As soon as I had that Intelligence, I then
 ‘ immediately repaired to the Lord Justice *Bor-*
 ‘ *lace*, and thereupon we instantly assembled the
 ‘ Council, and, having sat all that Night, as
 ‘ also all the next Day, the 23d of *October*, in
 ‘ regard of the short Time left us for the Con-
 ‘ sultation of so great and weighty a Matter, al-
 ‘ though it was not possible for us, upon so few
 ‘ Hours Warning to prevent those other great
 ‘ Mis-

‘ Mischiefs which were to be acted, even at that
‘ same Hour, and at so great a Distance, as in
‘ all the other Parts of the Kingdom. Yet such
‘ was our Industry therein, having caused the
‘ Castle to be that Night strengthened with
‘ armed Men, and the City guarded, as the
‘ wicked Councils of those evil Persons, by the
‘ great Mercy of God to us, became defeated,
‘ so as they were not able to act that Part of
‘ their Treachery, which indeed was principal,
‘ and which, if they could have effected, would
‘ have rendered the rest of their Purposes the
‘ more easy.

‘ Having so secured the Castle, we forth-
‘ with laid about for the Apprehension of as
‘ many of the Offenders as we could, many of
‘ them having come to this City but that Night,
‘ intending, it seems, the next Morning, to act
‘ their Parts in those treacherous and bloody
‘ Crimes.

‘ The first Man apprehended was one *Hugh*
‘ *Mac-Mabon*, Esq; Grandson to the Traitor
‘ *Tyrone*, a Gentleman of a good Fortune in the
‘ County of *Monaghan*, who, with others, was
‘ taken that Morning in *Dublin*, having, at
‘ the Time of their Apprehension, offered a
‘ little Resistance with their Swords drawn; but,
‘ finding those we imployed against them more
‘ in Number, and better armed, yielded. He,
‘ upon his Examination before us, at first de-
‘ nied all; but in the End, when he saw we laid
‘ it home to him, he confessed enough to de-
‘ stroy himself, and impeach some others, as,
‘ by a Copy of his Examination herewith sent,
‘ may appear to your Lordship: We then com-
‘ mitted him until we might have further Time
‘ to examine him again, our Time being become
‘ more

‘ more needful to be imployed in Action, for
‘ securing this Place, than in Examining. This
‘ *Mac-Mabon* had been abroad, and served the
‘ King of *Spain* as a Lieutenant Colonel.

‘ Upon Conference with him and others, and
‘ calling to mind a Letter we received, the Week
‘ before, from Sir *William Cole*, a Copy whereof
‘ we send your Lordship here inclosed, we gathered, that the Lord *Mac-Guire* was to be an
‘ Actor in surprising the Castle of *Dublin*, wherefore we held it necessary to secure him immediately, thereby also to startle and deter the
‘ rest, when they found him laid fast. His
‘ Lordship, observing what we had done, and
‘ the City in Arms, fled from his Lodging early
‘ before Day, it seems, disguised ; for we had
‘ laid a Watch about his Lodging, so as we
‘ think he could not pass without disguising
‘ himself, yet he could not get forth of the City, so surely guarded were all the Gates.

‘ There were found at his Lodging hidden
‘ some Hatchets, with the Helves newly cut off
‘ close to the Hatchets, and many Skeans, and
‘ some Hammers.

‘ In the End the Sheriffs of the City, whom
‘ we imployed in strict Search of his Lordship,
‘ found him hidden in a Cock-loft, in an obscure
‘ House, far from his Lodging, where they apprehended him, and brought him before us.

‘ He denied all, yet so, as he could not deny
‘ but he heard of it in the Country, though he
‘ would not tell us when, or from whom ; and
‘ confessed, that he had not advertised us thereof, as in Duty he ought to have done. But
‘ we were so well satisfied of his Guiltiness by
‘ all Circumstances, as we doubted not, upon
‘ further Examination, when we could be able

‘ to

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‘ to spare Time for it, to find it apparent :
 ‘ Wherefore we held it of absolute Necessity to
 ‘ commit him close Prisoner, as we had formerly done *Mac-Mahon*, and others ; where
 ‘ we left him on the three and twentieth of this
 ‘ Month in the Morning, about the same Hour
 ‘ they intended to have been Masters of that
 ‘ Place, and this City.

‘ That Morning also we laid wait for all those
 ‘ Strangers that came the Night before to Town,
 ‘ and so many were apprehended, whom we
 ‘ find reason to believe to have Hands in this
 ‘ Conspiracy, as we were forced to disperse them
 ‘ into several Goals ; and we since found, that
 ‘ there came many Horsemen into the Suburbs
 ‘ that Night, who, finding the Plot discovered,
 ‘ dispersed themselves immediately.

‘ When the Hour approached, which was
 ‘ designed for surprising the Castle, great Numbers of Strangers were observed to come to
 ‘ Town, in great Parties, several Ways ; who,
 ‘ not finding Admittance at the Gates, staid in
 ‘ the Suburbs, and there grew numerous, to
 ‘ the Terror of the Inhabitants. We therefore,
 ‘ to help that, drew up instantly and signed a
 ‘ Proclamation, commanding all Men, not Dwellers in the City or Suburbs, to depart within
 ‘ an Hour, upon Pain of Death, and made it
 ‘ alike penal to those that should harbour them ;
 ‘ which Proclamation the Sheriffs immediately
 ‘ proclaimed in all the Suburbs by our Commandment ; which, being accompanied with
 ‘ the Example and Terror of the Committal of
 ‘ those two eminent Men, and others, occasioned the Departure of those Multitudes :
 ‘ And in this Case all our Lives and Fortunes,
 ‘ and above all his Majesty’s Power and regal
 ‘ Autho-

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‘ Authority being still at the Stake, we must
‘ vary from ordinary Proceedings, not only in
‘ executing martial Law as we see Cause, but
‘ also in putting some to the Rack to find out
‘ the Bottom of this Treason, and all the Con-
‘ trivers thereof, which we foresee will not
‘ otherwise be done.

‘ On that 23^d Day of this Month, we, con-
‘ ceiving that, as soon as it should be known,
‘ that the Plot for seizing *Dublin-Castle* was dis-
‘ appointed, all the Conspirators in the remote
‘ Parts might be somewhat disheartened, as, on
‘ the other side, the good Subjects would be
‘ comforted, and would then with the more
‘ Confidence stand on their Guard, did prepare
‘ to send abroad to all Parts of the Kingdom
‘ this Proclamation, which we send you here
‘ inclosed: And so, having provided, that the
‘ City and Castle should be so guarded as upon
‘ the sudden we could premise, we concluded
‘ that long-continued Consultation.

‘ On *Saturday*, at twelve of the Clock at
‘ Night, the Lord *Blaney* came to Town, and
‘ brought us the ill News of the Rebels seizing,
‘ with two hundred Men, his House, at *Castle-*
‘ *Blaney*, in the County of *Monaghan*, and his
‘ Wife, Children, and Servants; as also a
‘ House of the Earl of *Essex*, called *Carrick-*
‘ *macrosse*, with two hundred Men; and a House
‘ of Sir *Henry Spotswood*, in the same County,
‘ with two hundred Men; where, there being
‘ a little Plantation of *British*, they plundered
‘ the Town, and burnt divers Houses; and it
‘ since appears, that they burnt divers other
‘ Villages, and robbed and spoiled many *Eng-*
‘ *lish*, and none but *Protestants*, leaving the
‘ *English Papists* untouched, as well as the *Irish*.

E

‘ On

‘ On *Sunday* Morning, at three of the Clock,
 ‘ we had Intelligence, from Sir *Arthur Terring-*
 ‘ *ham*, that the *Irish* in the Town had that Day
 ‘ also broken up the King’s Store of Arms and
 ‘ Ammunition at the *Newry*, and where the
 ‘ Store of Arms hath lain ever since the Peace,
 ‘ and where they found fourscore and ten Bar-
 ‘ rels of Powder, and armed themselves, and
 ‘ put them under the Command of Sir *Con-*
 ‘ *Mao-Geunis*, Knt. and one *Creely*, a Monk, and
 ‘ plundered the *English* there, and disarmed the
 ‘ Garrison. And this, though too much, is all
 ‘ that we yet hear is done by them.

‘ However, we shall stand on our Guard the
 ‘ best we may, to defend the Castle and City
 ‘ principally, those being the Pieces of most
 ‘ Importance: But, if the Conspiracy be so
 ‘ universal, as *Mac-Mahon* saith, in his Exa-
 ‘ mination, it is, namely, *That all the Counties*
 ‘ *in the Kingdom have conspired in it*; which we
 ‘ admire should so fall out in this Time of uni-
 ‘ versal Peace, and carried on with that Secre-
 ‘ cy, that none of the *English* could have any
 ‘ Friend amongst them to disclose it; then in-
 ‘ deed we shall be in high Extremity, and the
 ‘ Kingdom in the greatest Danger that ever it
 ‘ underwent, considering our Want of Men,
 ‘ Money, and Arms, to enable us to encounter
 ‘ such great Multitudes as they can make, if all
 ‘ should join against us; the rather, because we
 ‘ have pregnant Cause to doubt, that the Com-
 ‘ bination hath taken Force by the Incitement
 ‘ of Jesuits, Priests, and Friars.

‘ All the Hope we have here is, the old *Eng-*
 ‘ *lish* of the *Pale*, and some other Parts, will
 ‘ continue constant to the King in their Fidelity,
 ‘ as they did in former Rebellions.

‘ And

‘ And now, in these Straits, we must, under God, depend on Aid forth of *England*, for our present Supply with all speed; especially Money, we having none, and Arms, which we shall exceedingly want; without which we are very doubtful what Account we shall give to the King of his Kingdom.

‘ But, if the Conspiracy be only of *MacGuire*, and some other *Irish* of the Kindred and Friends of the Rebel *Tyrone*, and other *Irish* in the Counties of *Down*, *Monaghan*, *Cavan*, *Fermanagh*, and *Armagh*, and no general Revolt following thereupon, we hope then to make head against them in a reasonable Measure, if we be enabled with Money from thence, without which we can raise no Forces, so great is our Want of Money, as we have formerly written, and our Debt so great to the Army; nor is Money to be borrowed here, for, if it were, we would engage all our Estates for it; neither have we any Hope to get in his Majesty’s Rents and Subsidies, in these Disturbances, which add extremely to our Necessities.

‘ On *Sunday* Morning, the 24th, we met again in Council, and sent to all Parts of the Kingdom the enclosed Proclamation, and issued Patents to draw hither seven Horse-troops, as a farther Strength to this Place, and to be with us, in case the Rebels shall make head and march hitherward, so as we may be necessitated to give them Battle. We also then sent away our Letters to the President of both the Provinces of *Munster* and *Conaght*: And we likewise then sent Letters to the Sheriffs of the five Counties of the *Pale*, to consult of the best Ways and Means of

‘ their own Preservation. That Day the Lord
 ‘ Viscount *Germanstone*, the Lord Viscount *Net-*
 ‘ *terville*, the Lord Viscount *Fitz-Williams*, and
 ‘ the Lord of *Houth*, and since the Earls of
 ‘ *Kildare* and *Fingall*, and the Lords of *Dun-*
 ‘ *sany* and *Slane*, all Noblemen of the *Engliff*
 ‘ *Pale*, came unto us, declaring, that they then,
 ‘ and not before, heard of the Matter, and pro-
 ‘ fessed Loyalty to his Majesty, and Concur-
 ‘ rence with the State; but said, they wanted
 ‘ Arms, whereof they desired to be supplied
 ‘ by us, which we told them we would willing-
 ‘ ly do, as relying much on their Faithfulness
 ‘ to the Crown: But we were not yet certain
 ‘ whether or no we had enough to arm our
 ‘ Strength for the Guard of the City and Castle;
 ‘ yet we supplied such of them as lay in most
 ‘ Danger with a small Proportion of Arms and
 ‘ Ammunition for their Houses, lest they should
 ‘ conceive we apprehended any Jealousy of
 ‘ them. And we commanded them to be ve-
 ‘ ry diligent in sending out Watches, and mak-
 ‘ ing all the Discoveries they could, and thereof
 ‘ to advertise us, which they readily promised
 ‘ to do.

‘ And if it fall out that the *Iriff* generally
 ‘ rise, which we have Cause to suspect, then we
 ‘ must of necessity put Arms into the Hands
 ‘ of the *Engliff Pale* at present, and to others
 ‘ as fast as we can, to fight for the Defence of
 ‘ the State and themselves.

‘ Your Lordship now sees the Condition
 ‘ wherein we stand, and how necessary it is,
 ‘ first, that we enjoy your Presence speedily,
 ‘ for the better guiding of those and other the
 ‘ public Affairs of the King and Kingdom:
 ‘ And, secondly, that the Parliament there be
 ‘ moved

‘ moved immediately, to advance to us a good
‘ Sum of Money, which, being now speedily
‘ sent hither, may prevent the Expence of very
‘ much Treasure and Blood in a long continued
‘ War. And, if your Lordship shall happen
‘ to stay on that Side any longer Time, we
‘ must then desire your Lordship to appoint a
‘ Lieutenant General, to discharge the great
‘ and weighty Burthen of commanding the
‘ Forces here.

‘ Amidst these Confusions and Discords fallen
‘ upon us, we bethought us of the Parliament,
‘ which was formerly adjourned to *November*
‘ next, and the Term now also at hand, which
‘ will draw such a Concourse of People hither,
‘ and give Opportunity, under that Pretence,
‘ of assembling and taking new Councils, see-
‘ ing the former seems to be in some part dis-
‘ appointed, and of contriving further Danger
‘ to this State and People: We have therefore
‘ found it of unavoidable Necessity to prorogue
‘ it accordingly, and to direct the Term to be
‘ adjourned to the first of *Hillary* Term, ex-
‘ cepting only the Court of *Exchequer*; for
‘ hastening in the King’s Money, if it be possi-
‘ ble. We desire, upon this Occasion, your
‘ Lordship will be pleased to view our Letters,
‘ concerning the Plantation of *Conaght*, dated
‘ the 24th of *April* last, directed to Mr. Secre-
‘ tary *Vane*, in that Part thereof which concerns
‘ the County of *Monaghan*, where now these
‘ Fires do first break out.

‘ In the last Place, we must make known to
‘ your Lordship, that the Army we have, con-
‘ sisting but of 2000 Foot and 1000 Horse,
‘ are so dispersed in Garrisons in several Parts,
‘ as continually they have been since they were

‘ so reduced, as, if they be all sent for to be
 ‘ drawn together, not only the Places whence
 ‘ they are to be drawn, and for whose Safety
 ‘ they lie there, must be by Absence distressed ;
 ‘ but also the Companies themselves, coming
 ‘ in so small Numbers, may be in Danger to be
 ‘ cut off in their March ; nor indeed have we
 ‘ any Money to pay the Soldiers to enable them
 ‘ to march. And so we take Leave, and re-
 ‘ main, from his Majesty’s Castle of *Dublin*,
 ‘ the 25th of *October*, 1641,

‘ Your Lordship’s to be commanded,

‘ *William Parsons,* *John Borlace.*

‘ <i>Richard Bolton,</i> Can.	<i>R. Dillon,</i>
‘ <i>Anthony Midenfis,</i>	<i>John Raphoe,</i>
‘ <i>R. Digbie,</i>	<i>Ad. Loftus,</i>
‘ <i>Ger. Lowther,</i>	<i>John Temple,</i>
‘ <i>Tho. Rotheram,</i>	<i>Fran. Willoughbbie,</i>
‘ <i>J. Ware,</i>	<i>G. Wentworth.</i>
‘ <i>Robert Meredith,</i>	

‘ P O S T S C R I P T.

‘ The said *Owen Conally*, who revealed the
 ‘ Conspiracy, is worthy of very great Confide-
 ‘ ration, to recompence that Faith and Loyalty
 ‘ which he hath, so extremely to his own Dan-
 ‘ ger, expressed in this Business ; whereby, un-
 ‘ der God, there is yet Hope left us of Deli-
 ‘ verance of this State and Kingdom, from the
 ‘ wicked Purposes of those Conspirators. And
 ‘ therefore we beseech your Lordship, that it
 ‘ be taken into Consideration there, so as he
 ‘ may have a Mark of his Majesty’s most royal
 ‘ Bounty, which may largely extend to him
 ‘ and

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‘ and his Posterity, we not being now able here
‘ to do it for him.

‘ W. PARSONS.

‘ *To the Right Honourable our very good*
‘ *Lord, Robert Earl of Leicester, Lord*
‘ *Lieutenant General, and General Gover-*
‘ *nour of the Kingdom of Ireland.*’

The Dispatch sent to his Majesty was addressed to Sir *Henry Vane*, principal Secretary, and carried by Sir *Henry Spotswood*, who went by Sea directly into *Scotland*: And the Letters to the Lord Lieutenant were sent to *London* by *Owen O Conally*, the first Discoverer of the Plot.

The Lords now, with all Care and Diligence, applied their further Endeavours towards the preventing, as much as was possible, the Destruction intended against all the *British* Inhabitants of the Kingdom, as well as the Security of the City and the Places round about it; a Work of large Extent, and wherein they met with many Difficulties, by reason of their own Wants both of Men and Money.

They, having formerly sent away and dispersed the Proclamations into several Parts of the Country, now sent Letters by express Messengers unto the Presidents of *Munster* and *Conaght*, and to several principal Gentlemen in those two Provinces; as also to others within the Province of *Leinster*, giving them notice of the Discovery of the Plot, and advising them to stand upon their Guard, and to make the best Provision they could for the Defence of the Country about them.

They sent another Express to the Earl of *Ormond*, then at his House at *Caricke*, with Letters to the same Effect; and withal desired his Lordship presently to repair unto them at *Dublin* with his Troop of Horse.

They sent likewise Commissions to the Lord Viscounts of *Clandebois*, and of the *Ardes*, for raising of the *Scots* in the Northern Parts, and putting them into Arms; as they did also soon after to Sir *William Stewart*, and Sir *Robert Stewart*, and several other Gentlemen of Quality in the North: And as they gave them Order for Prosecution of the Rebels with Fire and Sword, so they gave them Power to receive such of them in, as should submit to his Majesty's Grace and Mercy. But these Dispatches they were enforced to send all by Sea, the *Rebels* having stopped up the Passages, and hindered all manner of Intercourse with that Province by Land.

The Lords of the *Pale* having been at the Council-board, and there declared to the Lords Justices, with great Protestations, their loyal Affections unto his Majesty, together with their Readiness and forward Concurrence with their Lordships in this Service, came unto them again within two or three Days after with a Petition; wherein they offered unto their Lordships the deep Sense they had of an Expression in the late Proclamation, set out upon the Discovery of this great Conspiracy intended, as is there set down, by some *evil-affected Irish Papists*, which Words they feared might be by some mis-interpreted, and such a Construction put upon them, as might reflect upon their Persons, as comprehended under them. Whereupon the Lords Justices and Council thought fit, to descend

scend so far to their Satisfaction, as not only to remonstrate the Clearness of their Intentions towards them, but, that it might appear unto the World, they entertained not the least jealous Thoughts of them, they caused a new Proclamation to be set out by way of Explanation of the former, which I have thought fit here to insert, that it may appear how far they were from giving any of those Lords and Gentlemen occasion to break out into those rebellious Courses, they soon afterwards took, to their own Destruction.

‘ *By the Lords Justices and Council.*

‘ WILLIAM PARSONS, JOHN BORLACE.

‘ WHEREAS a Petition hath been preferred
 ‘ unto us, by divers Lords and Gentlemen of
 ‘ the *English Pale*, in Behalf of themselves and
 ‘ the rest of the *Pale*, and other the old *English*
 ‘ of this Kingdom, shewing, that whereas a
 ‘ late Conspiracy of *Treason* is discovered of ill-
 ‘ affected Persons of the old *Irish*, and that
 ‘ thereupon a Proclamation was published by
 ‘ us; wherein, among other Things, it is de-
 ‘ clared, that the said Conspiracy was perpe-
 ‘ trated by *Irish Papists* without Distinction of
 ‘ any; and they doubting that, by those gene-
 ‘ ral Words of *Irish Papists*, they might seem
 ‘ to be involved, though they declare them-
 ‘ selves confident, that we did not intend to
 ‘ conclude them therein, in regard they are
 ‘ none of the old *Irish*, nor of their Faction, or
 ‘ Confederacy; but are altogether averse and
 ‘ opposite to all their Designs, and all others of
 ‘ like Condition; we do therefore, to give them
 ‘ full

‘ full Satisfaction, hereby declare and publish
 ‘ to all his Majesty’s good Subjects in this King-
 ‘ dom, That, by the Words, *Irish Papists*, we
 ‘ intended only such of the old meer *Irish* in the
 ‘ Province of *Ulster*, as have plotted, contrived,
 ‘ and been Actors in this Treason, and others
 ‘ who adhere to them; and that we did not any
 ‘ Way intend, or mean thereby any of the old
 ‘ *English* of the *Pale*, nor of any other Parts of
 ‘ this Kingdom, we being well assured of their
 ‘ Fidelity to the Crown, and having Experience
 ‘ of the good Affections and Services of their
 ‘ Ancestors in former Times of Danger and
 ‘ Rebellion: And we further require all his Ma-
 ‘ jesty’s loving Subjects, whether *Protestants* or
 ‘ *Papists*, to forbear upbraiding Matter of Reli-
 ‘ gion one against the other, and that upon
 ‘ Pain of his Majesty’s Indignation. Given at
 ‘ his Majesty’s Castle of *Dublin*, the 29th of
 ‘ *Octob.* 1641.

‘ God save the King.

‘ <i>R. Ranelagh,</i>	<i>Gerrard Lowther,</i>
‘ <i>R. Dillon,</i>	<i>J. Temple,</i>
‘ <i>Ant. Midenfis,</i>	<i>Fr. Willoughby,</i>
‘ <i>Ad. Loftus,</i>	<i>Ja. Ware.</i>
‘ <i>Geo. Shurley,</i>	

But to return now to the *Northern Rebels*,
 who so closely pursued on their first Plot, as
 they, beginning to put it in Execution, in most
 of the chief Places of Strength there, upon the
 23d of *Octob.* the Day appointed for the Surpri-
 sal of the Castle of *Dublin*, had, by the latter
 End of the same Month, gotten into their Pos-
 session all the Towns, Forts, Castles, and Gen-
 tlemen’s Houses within the Counties of *Tyrone*,
Donnegal,

Donegal, Fermanagh, Armagh, Carran, Londonderry, Monaghan, and half the County of *Down*, except the Cities of *Londonderry* and *Colerain*, the Town and Castle of *Encikillin*, and some other Places and Castles which were for the present gallantly defended by the *British* Undertakers, though afterwards, for want of Relief, surrendered into their Hands.

The chief of the Northern Rebels that first appeared in the Execution of this Plot, within the Province of *Ulster*, were, Sir *Phelim O Neale*, *Turlough O Neale*, his Brother; *Roury Mac-Guire*, Brother to the Lord *Mac-Guire*; *Philip O Rely*, *Mulmore O Rely*, Sir *Conne Mac-Gennis*, Col. *Mac-Brian*, *Mac-Mabon*; these, having closely combined together, with several other of their Accomplices, the chief of the several *Septs*, in the several Counties, divided their Forces into several Parties; and, according to a general Assignment made among themselves, at one and the same Time, surprised by Treachery the Town and Castle of the *Newry*, the Fort of *Dongannon*, Fort *Montjoy*, *Carlemont*, *Tonrages*, *Caricke Mac-Rosse*, *Cloughcuter*, *Castle-Blaney*, *Castle of Monaghan*, being all of them Places of considerable Strength, and in several of them Companies of Foot, or Troops of Horse belonging to the standing Army.

Besides these they took a Multitude of other Castles, Houses of Strength, Towns, and Villages, all abundantly peopled with *British* Inhabitants, who had exceedingly enriched the Country, as well as themselves, by their painful Labours. They had made, for their more comfortable Subsistence, handsome and pleasant Habitations, abounding with Corn, Cattle, and all other Commodities that an industrious People could

could draw out of a good inland Soil. They lived in great Plenty, and some of them very well stored with Plate and ready Money. They lived likewise in as great Security, being quiet and careless, as the People of *Laisb*, little suspecting any Treachery from their *Irish* Neighbours.

The *English* well knew they had given them no manner of Provocation; they had entertained them with great Demonstrations of Love and Affection. No Story can ever shew, that in any Age, since their intermixed Cohabitation, they rose up secretly to do them Mischief: And now of late they lived so peaceably and lovingly together, as they had just Reason most confidently to believe, that the *Irish* would never, upon any Occasion, generally rise up again to their Destruction. This I take to be one main and principal Reason, that the *English* were so easily overrun within the Northern Counties, and so suddenly swallowed up, before they could make any manner of Resistance in the very first Beginnings of this Rebellion: For most of the *English*, having either *Irish* Tenants, Servants, or Landlords, and all of them *Irish* Neighbours their familiar Friends, as soon as this Fire brake out, and the whole Country began to rise about them, some made their Recourse presently to their Friends for Protection, some relying upon their Neighbours, others upon their Landlords, others upon their Tenants and Servants for Preservation, or, at least, present Safety; and with great Confidence put their Lives, their Wives, their Children, and all they had, into their Power: But these generally either betrayed them into the Hands of other Rebels, or most perfidiously destroyed them with their own Hands.

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The *Priests* had now charmed the *Irish*, and laid such bloody Impressions in them, as it was held, according to the Maxims they had received, a mortal Sin to give any manner of Relief or Protection to any of the *English*. All Bonds and Ties of Faith and Friendship were now broken; the *Irish* Landlords made a Prey of their *English* Tenants; *Irish* Tenants and Servants a Sacrifice of their *English* Landlords and Masters; one Neighbour cruelly murdered by another; the very *Irish* Children in the very beginning fell to strip and kill *English* Children: All other Relations were quite cancelled and laid aside, and it was now esteemed a most meritorious Work in any of them that could, by any Means or Ways whatsoever, bring an *Englishman* to the Slaughter, a Work not very difficult to be compassed as Things then stood: For they, living promiscuously among the *British* in all Parts, having from their *Priests* received the Watch-word both for Time and Place, rose up, as it were actuated by one and the same Spirit, in all Places of those Counties before-mentioned, at one and the same Point of Time; and so in a Moment fell upon them, murdering some, stripping only, or expelling others out of their Habitations.

This bred such a general Terror and Astonishment among the *English*, as they knew not what to think, much less what to do, or which way to turn themselves. Their Servants were killed as they were ploughing in the Fields, Husbands cut to pieces in the Presence of their Wives, their Children's Brains dashed out before their Faces; others had all their Goods and Cattle seized and carried away, their Houses burnt, their Habitations laid waste; and all as
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it were at an Instant, before they could suspect the *Irish* for their Enemies, or any ways imagine that they had it in their Hearts, or in their Power, to offer so great Violence, or do such Mischief unto them.

Now for such of the *English* as stood upon their Guard, and had gathered together, though but in small Numbers, the *Irish* had recourse to their antient Stratagem; which, as they have formerly, so they still continued to make frequent use of in this present *Rebellion*; and that was, fairly to offer unto them good Conditions of Quarter, to assure them their Lives, their Goods, and free Passage, with a safe Conduct into what Place soever they pleased, and to confirm these Covenants sometimes under their Hands and Seals, sometimes with deep Oaths and Protestations; and then, as soon as they had them in their Power, to hold themselves disobliged from their Promises, and to leave their Soldiers at Liberty to despoil, strip, and murder them at their Pleasure.

Thus were the poor *English* treated, who had shut themselves up in the great Cathedral Church at *Armagh*, by Sir *Phelim O Neale*, and his Brother *Turlogh*: Thus were such of the *English* used by *Philip O Reley*, who had retired themselves to *Belterbert*, the best planted Town in the County of *Cavan*: And after the same barbarous Manner were such of the *English* drawn out to the Slaughter, as had gotten into the Castles of *Longford*, the Castle of *Tullogh*, in the County of *Fermanagh*; or the Church of *Newtown*, in the same County, and several other Places; as appears by several Examinations taken upon Oath, from Persons that hardly escaped thence with their Lives.

And

And besides these other Policies they used, some to distract and discourage them, others to disable them to stand out to make any Defence: As in several Places the *Irish* came under divers Pretences, and borrowed such Weapons and Arms as the *English* had in their Houses; and no sooner got them into their Hands, but they turned them out of their own Doors, as they did at *Glaslough*, in the County of *Monaghan*: And by the same Means they very gently and fairly got into their Possession all the *English* Arms in the County of *Cavan*: The High Sheriff, there being an *Irishman* and a *Papist*, pretending, that he took their Arms only to secure them against the Violence of such of the *Irish* as he understood to be in Arms in the next County. And, that they might the more easily effect the Destruction of the *English*, and keep off the *Scots* from giving them any Assistance, they openly professed to spare, as really they did at the first, all the *Scotish* Nation; and pretended they would suffer them, as likewise all *English Papists*, to live quietly among them; hoping thereby to contain all of that Nation from taking up Arms, till they had mastered all the *English*, and that then they should be well enough enabled to deal with them.

Thus were the poor *English* prepared for the Slaughter, and so exceedingly distracted with the tumultuous Rising of the *Irish* on all sides about them, as they could never put themselves into any Posture of Defence. And, although, in many Places, they made small Parties, and betook themselves into several Churches and Castles, some of which were most gallantly long defended by them; yet did they not draw together in any such considerable Body, as would enable

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able them to make good their Party in the Field, against the numerous Forces of the *Rebels*. The Truth is, they did not very readily endeavour, or dextrously attempt it in any Part of that Province, as I could hear of; every Man betaking himself the best he could to the Care of his own House, and seeking how to save his own Family, his Goods within, and his Cattle without: And so, while they kept singly apart, and singly stood up for their own private Preservation, not joining their Forces together for the common Safety, they gave the *Rebels* a fair Opportunity, and a singular Advantage, to work out with great Facility their common Destruction.

Whereas, if they had deserted their Houses, upon the first Notice of the Rising up of the *Irish*, and in the several Counties put themselves into several Bodies, under the Commands of the chief *English* Gentlemen round about them, they had undoubtedly, how ill so ever they were provided of Arms and Ammunition, been able to have encountered the *Irish*, and to have beat them out of many Parts of the Country, or, at least, to have put them to some Stand in their Enterprize: Whereas, by the Course they took, they most readily, *without almost any Resistance*, exposed themselves to the merciless Cruelty of the *Irish*, who at the very first, for some few Days after their Breaking-out, did not in most Places murder many of them; but the Course they took was to seize upon all their Goods and Cattle, to strip them, their Wives, and Children naked, and, in that miserable Plight, the Weather being most bitter cold and frosty, to turn them out of their Houses, to drive them to the Mountains, to wander through the Woods and Bogs; and,

and, if they by any Means procured any other Clothes, or but even ordinary Rags to cover their Nakedness, they were presently taken from them again, and none suffered to give them any kind of Shelter by the Way, Relief, or Entertainment, without incurring the heavy Displeasure of their *Priests* and chief Commanders.

And so they drove such of the *English*, whose Lives they thought fit at that Time to spare, clear out of the Country. Some of them took their Journey towards *Carigfergus*, others towards *Colraine*, *Derry*, and other of the Northern Ports. Many, who had gotten together and stood upon their Guards, came to Composition with their bloody Assailants, and gave them their Goods, Plate and Money, for Leave to come up to the City of *Dublin*. And, having bought their License at so dear a Rate, had Passes and Convoy assigned them by the chief Captains of the *Rebels*, and so came on of their Way in great Troops of Men, Women, and Children.

Out of the County of *Cavan*, as *M. Creighton*, who, by his charitable Relief of great Numbers of them, preserved them from perishing, testifies in his Examination, there passed by this House in one Company 1400 Persons; in another 500, from *Newtowne*, in the County of *Fermanagh*; in others lesser Numbers, all without any Weapons, or any thing else but the very Clothes on their Backs, which they suffered them not to carry away with them; but many were most barbarously stripped of them, by those who undertook to give them safe Conduct, or perfidiously betrayed by them into the Hands of other *Rebels*, by whom some were killed, others wounded, and all in a manner, whatsoever they had to cover their Nakedness, taken from

most of them; as may appear by the Examination of *Adam Clover* of *Slonofy* in the County of *Cavan*, who, being duly sworn, deposeth *inter alia*.

‘ That this Deponent, and his Company
 ‘ that were robbed, observed, that 30 Persons,
 ‘ othereabouts, were then most barbarously murdered and slain outright, and about 150 more
 ‘ Persons cruelly wounded; so that Traces of
 ‘ Blood, issuing from their Wounds, lay upon
 ‘ the Highway for 12 Miles together; and many
 ‘ very young Children were left and perished by
 ‘ the Way, to the Number of 60, or thereabouts;
 ‘ because the cruel Pursuit of the *Rebels*
 ‘ was such, that their Parents and Friends could
 ‘ not carry them further.

And further saith, ‘ That some of the *Rebels*
 ‘ vowed, *That if any digged Graves, wherein*
 ‘ *to bury the dead Children, they should be buried*
 ‘ *therein themselves*: So the poor People left the
 ‘ most of them unburied, exposed to ravenous
 ‘ Beasts and Fowls, and some few their Parents
 ‘ carried a great Way to bury them.

And this Deponent further saith, ‘ That he
 ‘ saw upon the Way a Woman, left by the *Rebels*
 ‘ stripped to her Smock, set upon by three Women
 ‘ and some *Irish* Children, who miserably
 ‘ rent and tore the said poor *English-woman*, and
 ‘ stripped her of her Smock in a bitter Frost
 ‘ and Snow, so that she fell in Labour under
 ‘ their Hands, and both she and her Child died
 ‘ there.’

Thus did their Mercy, in sparing those miserable Souls in this Manner, prove by much a far greater Cruelty, than if they had suddenly cut them off, as they did afterwards many thousands of *British* that fell into their Hands: For now they

they starved and perished in Multitudes upon the Ways as they travelled along ; and to those that out-lived the Misery of their Journey, their Limbs only served to drag up their Bodies to Christian Burial there denied unto them. For many of the Men, and most of the Women and Children that thus escaped, either to *Dublin*, or other Places of Safety in the North, not long out-lived the Bitterness of their Passage ; but either overwhelmed with Grief, or out-wearied with Travel, contracted those Diseases, which, furthered by Hunger, Cold, Nakedness, ill Lodgings, and want of other Necessaries, struck deeply into *Bodies* that had lived long at Ease with much Plenty, and soon brought them with Sorrow to their Graves.

These were the First-fruits of this *Rebellion*, which now began to dilate itself into the other Provinces, having covered over the Northern Parts of the Kingdom with fearful Desolations. The first Plotters were yet undiscovered, but the great active Instruments, appointed for the Execution of this horrid Design, fully appeared, and had already deeply imbrued their Hands in the bloody Massacres of the *English*. Sir *Pbelim O Neale* being the Chief of that *Sept*, and now the Person remaining of nearest Alliance to the late Earl of *Tyrone*, assumed to himself the chief Power among the *Rebels* in *Ulster* ; and by his Directions guided the rest of his Accomplices on, in the Destruction of all the *English* there.

He was one of very mean Parts, without Courage or Conduct ; his Education, for a great Part of his Youth, was in *England* ; he was admitted a Student of *Lincoln's-Inn*, and there trained up in the *Protestant* Religion, which he soon changed after, if not before, his Return into

Ireland, lived loosely, and, having *no considerable Estate*, by reason of the great Engagement upon it, became of very little Esteem in all Men's Opinions : Yet, such were the over-zealous Affections of his Countrymen in this Cause, their Secrecy in attempting, their Suddenness in executing, as, by their Forwardness to destroy the *English* and get their Goods, he quickly over-run that Part of the Country.

He had prevailed so far, within seven Days after he first appeared in this *Rebellion*, by seizing most treacherously at the very first upon *Charlemont*, where the Lord *Daufield* lay with his Foot-company, the Forts of *Dongannon* and *Montjoy*, as that in his Letter, written to Father *Patrick O'Donnell*, his Confessor, bearing Date from *Montjoy*, the 30th of *October*, he was able to brag of great and many Victories : And presently after he had gotten such a Multitude of *rude Fellows* together, though in very ill Equipage, as he marched down with great Numbers of Men towards *Lisnagarry*, near the chief Plantation of the *Scots* ; (for that Part of their Plot to spare them, as they did in the Beginning, they found now too gross to take, therefore they resolved to fall upon them without Mercy) and yet left sufficient Forces to come up into the *Pale*, to take in *Dondalke* in the County of *Lowth* ; which was a Frontier Town in the last Wars against *Tyrone*, and so well defended itself, as, with all the Power he had, he could never recover it into his Hands. There lay now a Foot-company of the old Army, but the Lieutenant who commanded it, having neither his Men in Readiness, nor Arms or Ammunition, made little or no Resistance, easily giving Way to the forward Affections of the Inhabitants, who delivered up
the

the Town into the Possession of the *Rebels* about the beginning of *November*, 1641.

The *Rebels*, presently after their taking in of *Dondalke*, marched on further into the County of *Lowth*, and possessed themselves of *Ardee*, a little Town within seven Miles of *Tredagh*, antiently called *Drobedagh*: So as it was now high Time to provide for the Safety of that Town.

The Lord *Moore* had already retired thither from his House at *Millifont*, and there remained with his Troop of Horse and two Companies of Foot. One was under the Command of Sir *John Netterville*, eldest Son to the Lord Viscount *Netterville*. He discovered in the very beginning much Virulency in his Affections, by giving false Frights and raising false Rumours, and making all manner of ill Infusions into the Minds of the Townsmen, who, as it afterwards appeared, were but too forward to take part with the *Rebels*. It is verily believed they had in the very beginning some Plot to cut off the Lord *Moore*, and seize upon his Troop; and that Sir *John Netterville's* Part was to begin a Mutiny, which he attempted that Night he was to be upon the Watch, by giving ill Language, and endeavouring to make a Quarrel with his Lordship, which he very discreetly passed over, and so carefully looked to the Guard of the Town, as they could take no Advantage to put on their Design.

However, the Townsmen were extreemly frightened with the Thoughts of their present Danger, and, the greater Part of them being *Papists*, were ready to declare themselves for the *Catholic* Cause; only their Desires were, Things might be so ordered, as would administer unto

them specious Pretences of Necessity for the same

The Lord *Moore* gave present Advertisement unto the Lords Justices and Council, of the ill Condition and most imminent Danger he found the Town to be then in, that it was not possible to preserve it out of the Hands of the Rebels, without further Strength both of Horse and Foot: That, in case the Enemy should make any sudden Approaches, or attempt to surprise the Town, he found such poor Preparatives for Defence within, such apparent Signs of Disloyalty in the Townsmen, and all Things in such a desperate Confusion, as they should not be able, by the best Endeavours they could use, to give any good Account of that Place.

Hereupon their Lordships presently resolved, to levy in the City of *Dublin* a Regiment of Foot, and to place them under the Command of Sir *Henry Tichborne* for the Defence of *Tredagh*. And for this Purpose there was very opportunely in the Hands of the Vice-Treasurer 3000 *l.* in a Readiness to be at that Time sent over into *England*, for the Satisfaction of a public Engagement there.

This the Lords thought fit to make use of, for the levying and setting out of those Men, which Sir *Henry Tichborne* got together in very few Days, and, having a Commission of Government for the Town, with some other private Instructions, he marched away with great Alacrity and Diligence the 3d of *November*, and happily arrived next Day at *Tredagh*.

The Lords granted another Commission to Sir *Charles Coot*, to levy a thousand Men more, which he most carefully endeavoured, and within a very short Time made up his Regiment, wherein

wherein very many of the *English*, who came up stripped and despoiled out of the North, lifted themselves ; for most of the Men, which escaped from thence with their Lives, being better able to suffer than the Women and Children, out-lived the Miseries of their Journey, and, putting themselves into several Companies, some of them had the Contentment to revenge the barbarous Cruelty used by the *Rebels* towards them.

Upon the 5th of *November*, the Lords made their second Dispatch unto his Majesty, still at *Edinburgh* in *Scotland*: At the same Time they sent several Letters into *England* to the Lord Keeper, Speaker of the House of Peers ; to the Speaker of the House of Commons, to the Lords of his Majesty's most Hon. Privy Council, and to the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* ; in all which they did with much Earnestness declare their present Dangers, together with the Necessity of sending sudden Relief.

In their Letter to the Lords of the Council they did more particularly set down the miserable Estate of the whole Kingdom, and the large Progress that the *Rebellion* had in few Days made since it broke out: They represented unto their Lordships the great Outrages the *Rebels* had committed upon the *British* Inhabitants in *Ulster* : That they had seized upon all their Estates and Houses in five Counties of that Province, possessed their Arms, and detained many of the principal Gentlemen Prisoners : That they had already slain many, and most barbarously hewed some to-pieces : That they have exposed thousands to Want and Beggary, who had good Estates and lived plentifully : That the *Rebellion* began then to diffuse itself into the Counties of

Longford and *Letrim*, and to threaten the *English* Plantations in *King's* and *Queen's* County: That the Inhabitants of the Counties of *Meath* and *Lowth* began to fall upon the *English* near about them: That they conceived there could not be less than 30,000, who had already openly declared themselves in this *Rebellion*, and were assembled together in several great Parties: That they understood their Design was, having got *Dondalke*, to take in *Tredagh*, and so to come up immediately to besiege the City and Castle of *Dublin*: That they gave out publicly, their Purpose was to extirpate the *English* and *Protestants*, and not to lay down Arms until the *Romish* Religion were established, the Government settled in the Hands of the Natives, and the old *Irish* restored to the Lands of their supposed Ancestors: That they held it their Duty to acquaint their Lordships with the lamentable Estate wherein the Kingdom stood, that his Majesty and the Parliament might understand it, and so speedily provide for sending over to their Relief 10,000 Foot, 1000 Horse, together with some able Commanders, 100,000 *l.* in Money, and further Provisions of Arms: That unless these were presently sent to them, they craved Leave to repeat it again and again, the Kingdom would be utterly lost, all the *English* and *Protestants* in *Ireland* destroyed, the Peace of the Kingdom of *England* disturbed by the *Irish* from thence, and so *England* enforced to make a new Conquest of it, for that a politic Reformation would then be impossible.

But now, before I pass further, I shall here give an Account of the Arrival of these and the former Letters of the 25th of *October*, addressed by the Lords Justices and Council to the Lord
Lieute-

Lieutenant of *Ireland*. *Owen O Conally*, the happy Discoverer of the first Plot, who carried the first Letters over, arrived at *London* the last Day of *October*, and late in the Evening delivered those Letters to his Lordship; who, having read them over, and received from him full Information of all other Particulars within his Knowledge, repaired the next Morning to the Council-board; and, having there acquainted the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council with them, he was required by their Lordships to communicate them unto the Lords of the Upper-house of Parliament, which he did accordingly the very same Morning: And they, considering the high Importance of them, as soon as they had perused them, ordered, that they should be presently sent down to the House of Commons, by the Lord Keeper, the Lord Privy Seal, Lord High Chamberlain, Lord Admiral, Lord Marshal, Lord Chamberlain, Earl of *Bath*, Earl of *Dorset*, Earl of *Leicester*, Earl of *Holland*, Earl of *Berks*, Earl of *Bristol*, Lord Viscount *Say*, Earl *Mandevile*, Lord *Goring*, Lord *Wilmot*, all of them being of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council. There were Chairs provided for these Lords in the House of Commons, and they sat down there till the Letters were read; and then, having informed the House of such other Particulars as they had received concerning the *general Rebellion* in *Ireland*, they departed without any further Conference, or other Debate upon them, leaving the House of Commons to consider further of them: Who presently ordered,

That the House forthwith should be resolved into a Committee, to take into Consideration the Matter offered

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offered concerning the Rebellion in Ireland, as likewise to provide for the Safety of the Kingdom of England.

This being done, they fell into a most serious Debate of this great Business then before them; they fully considered what Means were fittest to be used at present, for the Prevention of the further spreading of that hideous Rebellion in *Ireland*, as well as stopping of the ill Influence it might make upon their Affairs in *England*, where great Troubles even then began to appear within View: And, after much Time spent in this Debate, they came to these several Conclusions, which, being put to the Question, were assented unto by the Committee, and so resolved as followeth:

1. That 50,000 *l.* be forthwith provided.
2. That a Conference be desired with the Lords, to move them, that a select Committee of the Members of both Houses may be appointed to go to the City of *London*, and to make a Declaration unto them of the State of the Business in *Ireland*; and to acquaint them, that the lending of Moneys at this Time will be an acceptable Service to the Commonwealth: And that they propose unto them the Loan of 50,000 *l.* and to assure them, that they shall be secured, both of the Principal and Interest, by Act of Parliament.
3. That a select Committee may be named of both Houses, to consider of the Affairs of *Ireland*.
4. That *Owen O Conolly*, who discovered this great Treason, shall have 500 *l.* presently paid him, and 200 *l.* *per Annum* Pension, until Provision

vision of Land of Inheritance of a greater Value be made for him.

5. That the Persons of *Papists* of Quality, within this Kingdom, may be secured within the several Counties where they reside.

6. That no Person whatsoever, except those who are Merchants, shall be admitted to go over into *Ireland*, without Certificate from the Committee of both Houses, appointed to consider the Affairs of *Ireland*.

These, with several other Particulars concerning *Ireland*, and tending in order to the Safety of the Kingdom of *England*, were resolved upon the Question, and Master *Whitlock* appointed to report them to the House, as Heads of a Conference desired with the Lords concerning the Affairs of *Ireland*, which was accordingly had with their Lordships the same Day: At which Conference the Lord Keeper did express the very great Sense the Lords had of the exceeding great Care taken by the House of Commons, for the Prevention of the further spreading of the *Rebellion* in *Ireland*. And his Lordship by Command of the Lords did further let them know, that their Lordships did think fit to agree with them in all those Particulars, presented unto them by the House of Commons, without any material Alteration, only adding such further Things as they conceived might serve to further and expedite their Desires in the more speedy putting them in Execution.

The House of Commons, having proceeded thus far in the Affairs of *Ireland*, upon the two first Days after the Discovery made unto them of the *Rebellion* there raised, did, notwithstanding their own present Distractions, set apart
some

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some Portion almost of every Day that they sat, during the whole Month of *November*, for the considering of the Affairs of *Ireland*; and so, upon the third and fourth of the same, resolved upon the Question, and accordingly ordered these Particulars following:

1. That the House holds fit that 20,000 *£*. be forthwith supplied for the present Occasions of *Ireland*.

2. That a convenient Number of Ships shall be provided for the guarding of the Sea-coasts of *Ireland*.

3. That this House holds fit, that 6000 Foot and 2000 Horse shall be raised, with all convenient Speed, for the present Expedition into *Ireland*.

4. That the Lord Lieutenant shall present to both Houses of Parliament, such Officers as he shall think fit to send into *Ireland*, to command any Forces to be transported thither.

5. That Magazines of Victuals shall be forthwith provided at *Westchester* to be sent over to *Dublin*, as the Occasions of that Kingdom shall require.

6. That the Magazines of Arms, Ammunition, Powder, now in *Carlisle*, shall be forthwith sent over to *Knockfergus* in *Ireland*.

7. That it be referred to the King's Council, to consider of some fit Way, and to present it to the House, for a Publication to be made of Rewards to be given to such as shall do service in this Expedition into *Ireland*; and for a Pardon of such of the Rebels in *Ireland*, as shall come in by a Time limited, and of a Sum of Money to be appointed for a Reward to such as shall bring

bring in the Heads of such principal Rebels as shall be nominated.

8. That Letters shall be forthwith sent to the Justices in *Ireland*, to acquaint them how sensible this House is of the Affairs of *Ireland*.

9. That the Committee of *Irish* Affairs shall consider how, and in what Manner, this Kingdom shall make use of the Friendship and Assistance of *Scotland* in the Business of *Ireland*.

10. That Directions shall be given for the drawing of a Bill for the pressing of Men for this particular Service of *Ireland*.

These Particulars, together with several others, being resolved upon the Question, they passed an Ordinance of Parliament, enabling the Earl of *Leicester*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, to raise 3500 Foot, and 600 Horse, for the present Service there. And they further expressed their Resolution, not to make use of the Assistance offered unto them by their Brethern of *Scotland* further for the present, than for the furnishing them with 1000 Foot, which they desired might be transported out of *Scotland* into the North of *Ireland*. And on the same Day they ordered, that the Master of his Majesty's Ordinance should deliver to the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* the Number of 1000 Arms for Horse, and 8000 Arms for Foot, and ten Last of Powder, to be presently sent into *Ireland*. And that the Lord Admiral should suddenly provide Shipping for the transporting of Men Arms and Ammunition, and other Provisions, according to the former Resolutions of the House.

Now, while both Houses of Parliament were taking Order for raising Men, Money, and

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and sending Provisions and other Necessaries for *Ireland*, there arrived those other Letters of the 5th of *November*, formerly mentioned, which, being addressed to the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, were communicated to both Houses of Parliament; and, after a Conference upon them, took further Resolutions for the speedy sending away Supplies into *Ireland*. And such were the forward Affections and Zeal of the House of Commons, to promote what concerned the Service of *Ireland*, as they thereupon voted 200,000 *l.* to be raised, for the suppressing the *Irish Rebellion*, and for securing of the Kingdom of *England*, and Payment of the public Debts.

And, that they might facilitate this great Work of raising such a Sum of Money, upon the Credit of an Act of Parliament, before the Money could be collected throughout the Kingdom, they thought fit, for the better Encouragement of the City of *London*, and for the giving them full Satisfaction, in point of Security for the Moneys formerly lent them, to make this Order following :

‘ The Lords and Commons, in this present
 ‘ Parliament assembled, having a due Regard
 ‘ to the good Affections of the City of *London*,
 ‘ expressed upon sundry Occasions, by the advancing and lending of great Sums of Money, for the Service of this Commonwealth;
 ‘ and particularly the Sum of 50,000 *l.* lent
 ‘ for the *Irish* Affairs; and the Sum of 50,000 *l.*
 ‘ more, lent by the said City unto the Peers attending his Majesty in the Northern Parts,
 ‘ before the beginning of this present Parliament, which are not yet paid, or otherways
 ‘ secured,

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secured, shall be fully satisfied and repaid unto the said City of *London*, with Interest of 8l. per Cent. for one Year, out of such Moneys as are or shall be raised by Authority of Parliament: And for that Purpose an Act of Parliament to be passed with all Expedition. Provided always, that this present Ordinance shall not in any ways be prejudicial to any Members of the said House of Commons, who have formerly lent any Sums of Money to this Parliament, nor to the Northern Counties, nor to any Persons whatsoever, to whom both Houses of Parliament, or the said House of Commons, have formerly ordered the Payment of any Sums of Money, nor to any Security given to them, before the making of this Ordinance.

But I shall now return to the Affairs of this Kingdom, and the serious Consultations and Means used here by the Justices and Council, for the securing of the City and Castle of *Dublin*, which, by reason of the present Confusion, Weakness, and Wants, were in very great and most apparent Danger of a sudden Surprise.

And first for the Castle, Sir *Francis Willoughby*, being made Governour, had a Company of 100 Men, well armed, assigned for the constant Guard of that Place, besides the ordinary Warders, who gave their usual Attendance there: And, because the Lords conceived it might be dangerous, in such desperate Times, to admit such a Multitude of Suitors of all Sorts into the Castle, as had daily occasion to attend the Council-board, they presently transferred the Place of their meeting in Council to *Cork-bouse*, where they continued to sit a good Time after, notwithstanding

notwithstanding the great Danger their Persons were continually exposed unto, by the confident Resort, in great Numbers, of several Lords, Gentlemen, and others, who, within few Days after, declared themselves Rebels, and so went out among them.

It was God's immediate Providence that preserved them, and suffered not those Persons, who soon after became such *bloody Rebels*, to lay hold on that Opportunity: For certainly they might, with great Ease, have taken out of the Way the Lords Justices and Council; and so have left all Things in such Confusion, as would have brought on their long-desired Ends, without any further Contestation or Trouble.

The next Care was to provide Victuals for the Castle, in such Proportions, as might enable it to endure a Siege, in case the Town, either through Treachery within, or by Forces from without, should come to be surpris'd by the Rebels, who now carried all Things so clearly before them in the North, as they most confidently gave out, they would suddenly come down and make themselves Masters of it.

How to compass this seemed a Matter of great Difficulty, in regard there was no Money to be had for the performing this Work, so absolutely necessary in itself, and at that Time so highly importing the Safety and Preservation, even of the whole Kingdom: Therefore the Master of the *Rolls*, upon whom the Lords were pleas'd to impose this Service of Victualing the Castle, took the Advantage of the strange Frights, Fears, and little Safety, all the *English* and *Protestants* conceived both themselves and their Goods to remain in at that Time.

He

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He sent presently for some of the chief Merchants that were *Protestants* in the Town, and clearly represented unto them, the high Necessities of the State, the great Danger of the Town, the public Benefit, and their own private Security, in laying into the Castle such of their Provisions as they had lying by them, even in unsafe Places of the City.

These Impressions took, and they rightly apprehending the common Danger, that they could not out-live the Ruins of the Castle, partly out of their own good Affections to the Service, partly out of a prudent Care to secure their Goods, were content to bring in great Quantities of Beef, Herrings, and Corn, upon the Master of the *Rolls's* undertaking to see them satisfied, in case Use were made of them, or otherwise certain Restitution in kind to the several Owners: So as there were presently laid in by the *English* and *Dutch* Merchants, within the Verge of the Castle, above 2000 Barrels of Beef, 2000 Barrels of Herrings, and a good Proportion of Wheat; Provisions sufficient, not only to victual the Castle for many Months, but which did serve to maintain the whole Army, billeted in the City, a long time after; and their Money they received within few Months after, by Certificate from hence upon the Chamber of *London*, according to an Order made by both Houses of Parliament in *England*, for present Payment to be made to such as laid in any Provisions for the Army in *Ireland*.

There was then further Order taken to new dig and clear an old Well, long since stopped up, within the Walls of the Castle, and to provide all other Necessaries fit for a Siege. This was the first Step to the Safety of this Place, and

gave great Comfort and Security to all the *English*, and *Protestants*.

The Castle being thus happily provided for, the Lords took it next into their Care, how to secure the City in some sort against any sudden Attempts: And this proved a Work not easy to be effected, not only in regard to the Craziness of the Walls, the large Suburbs, and Weakness of the Place, but much more in respect of the corrupt ill Affections of the *Popish* Inhabitants within the City: So strangely were many of them deluded with the ill Infusions of their *Priests*, as they did certainly, as we found afterwards by woeful Experience, do all that in them lay, to promote the rebellious Designs then set on foot, as they believed, only for the Re-settlement of their Religion, and Recovery of their Liberties.

They were the Instruments to convey away privately most of the chief Conspirators, who would have surpris'd the Castle on the 23d of *Octob.* They secretly entertained many of the *Rebels* that came out of the Country; they likewise sent them Relief that were abroad, by secret Ways, conveying as well Ammunition, as Intelligence of all Passages from hence: And such strong Aversions had they against all Contributions for the Maintenance of his Majesty's Army, as, in the very beginning of the Rebellion, when the Lords sent for the Mayor and Aldermen, and laying before them the high Necessities of the State, together with the apparent Danger of the City and whole Kingdom, desired to borrow a considerable Sum of Money for the present, which they undertook to repay out of the next Treasure that should arrive out of *England*, the *Popish* Party among them was so prevalent, as that, after a most serious Consultation and very solemn

solemn Debate among themselves, they returned this Answer, That they were not able to furnish above 40*l.* and Part of that was to be brought in in Cattle.

There remained at this Time, embarked within the Harbour of *Dublin*, four hundred *Irish* Soldiers, ready, as was pretended, to set sail for *Spain*, under the Command of Colonel *John Barry*, who with some other *Irish* Gentlemen had procured Leave from his Majesty to levy certain Numbers of Volunteers to be transported over for the Service of the King of *Spain*; and those levied in other Parts, as well as at *Dublin*, were brought together just at the very Time designed for the Execution of the great Plot. The Pretence was specious, but certainly their Intentions, how finely soever covered over, were to have those Men in a Readiness together, at the very Time appointed for the first Breaking-out of these unnatural Troubles: And, as for those Men, which lay within the Harbour of *Dublin*, they were so great a Terror to all the *Protestant* Inhabitants in the City, as it exceedingly perplexed the Lords how to dispose so of them as might prevent the Mischief justly feared, in case of their landing.

Their Commanders had so handsomely ordered the Matter, as though they were designed for a long Voyage; yet stay on Ship-board any longer they could not, by reason they had no Victuals, nor even enough to carry them out of the Harbour; and no Man had Order, in the Absence of Colonel *Barry*, who retired himself some few Miles out of the Town, the very Evening before the Castle should have been taken, to provide for the further supplying of them. To suffer them to land was to add to many Instru-

ments of Mischief to those already gathered within and about the City : Therefore it was resolved, that the Captain of the King's Pinnace, then in the Harbour, should by Force keep them from landing, which he did several Days together, till it was apparent they would inevitably starve, if a Course were not suddenly taken to afford them some Relief. Whereupon the Lords, having no Means to victual them aboard, gave them Leave to land, having first taken Order they should not come into the City.

The Lords Justices and Council thought fit, within very few Days after the Landing of these Men, the more to deter them, and all other ill-affected Persons from repairing to the City of *Dublin*, to issue out a Proclamation, for the Discovery and present Removal of all such as did or should come and continue there without just or necessary Cause. But so careful were they in this, and all other their Actions, not to give any Distaste to the *Irish*, or other Inhabitants of the Country, as they forbore to inflict any Punishment upon any that continued in the City contrary to their Proclamation, sparing several Persons whom they had not only just cause to be jealous of, but who were brought before them, and convinced to have uttered Speeches clearly discovering their ill affections.

And having by late Proclamations prorogued the Parliament, and adjourned *Michaelmas* Term, that, under pretence of Repair to either of them, unnecessary Concourse of Strangers might not be brought unto the Town, they proceeded on to some other Acts, which, as they conceived, would not only render great Security to the City, but lessen the Distempers abroad, bring Safety to the *Pale*, and keep the Dangers at distance, and far

far off from them : And for this Purpose, they being informed, that a Multitude of the meaner sort of People were ignorantly involved in the Guilt of this Rebellion, and, by the wicked Seducement of the first Conspirators, had been drawn on to despoil their *English* Neighbours, they issued out a Proclamation, about the beginning of the Month of *November*, declaring unto all such as were not Freeholders within the County of *Meath*, *Westmeath*, *Lowth* and *Longford*, that, if they would come in and submit, make Restitution of the Goods so taken, they should be received to his Majesty's Mercy, and no further Prosecution held against them.

Much about the Time of the Sending-forth of this Proclamation, some of the chief of the *Sept* of the *Relyes*, and other prime Gentlemen in the County of *Cavan*, sent up a kind of Remonstrance to the Lords Justices and Council, whereunto they returned them a very fair Answer, assuring them of their Readiness to give them all just Redress of their Grievances expressed therein, so they would in the mean Time retire peaceably to their Houses, restore, as they were able, the *Englishmen's* Goods, and forbear all further Acts of Rapine and Violence: And they did presently send over their Remonstrance to the Lord Lieutenant, to be presented to his Majesty, according to their Desires. But these Ways of Moderation and peaceable Persuasions proved of very little Effect, they had no manner of Influence into the resolved Minds of the Leaders, or of Operation upon the hardened Hearts of the People; they were too deeply engaged so slightly to retire; they had now drenched themselves in the Blood of the *English*, and were greatly enriched with their Spoils : It was not

possible for them to make Restitution, and they hoped to go through with the Work, and, by the united Power of the Kingdom, to draw the whole Management of the Affairs into their own Hands.

And now likewise the Lords Justices and Council, that they might shew the great Confidence they had in the Lords and chief Gentlemen of the *Pale*, and gave them both Opportunity and Means to express their Loyalty and Affections to his Majesty's Service, resolved, according as the Constitution of their Affairs then required, to do some such Acts as might clearly persuade them of the great Trust they really reposed in them: And therefore, first, they gave out several Commissions of Martial Law, for executing, without attending a Proceeding according to the ordinary Course of the Common Law, of such Traitors and Rebels as should be apprehended doing Mischief in any Parts of the Country about them: And these they directed to the most active Gentlemen, though all *Papists*, inhabiting in the several Counties; as, to *Henry Talbot*, in the County of *Dublin*; *John Bellew*, Esq; in the County of *Lowth*; *Richard Dalton*, and *Thomas Tuit*, Esq; in the County of *West-Meath*; *Valerian Westley*, in the County of *Meath*; *James Talbot*, in the County of *Cavan*.

Next they made choice of the chief Persons of Quality, residing in the said Counties of the *Pale*, and others adjacent to them, to govern and command such Forces as should be raised by them, and armed by the State for the Defence of the Country, and issued out from the Council-board several Commissions of Government unto them: As, one to the Earl of *Ormond*,

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mond, and the Lord Viscount *Montgarret*, for the County of *Kilkenny*; to *Walter Bagnall*, Esq; for the County of *Caterlagh*; Sir *Jam. Dillon* the Elder, and Sir *James Dillon* the Younger, for the County of *Longford*; Lord Viscount *Costeloe*, for the County of *Mayo*; Sir *Robert Talbot*, and *Garrat Birne*, for the County of *Wiclow*; Sir *Christopher Beliew*, for the County of *Lowth*; Earl of *Kildare*, for the County of *Kildare*; Sir *Thomas Nugent*, for the County of *West-Meath*; *Nicholas Barnewall*, for the County of *Dublin*; Lord Viscount *Gormanstone*, for the County of *Meath*. All these were made choice of without Distinction of Religion; the Lords holding it fit at that Time to put the chief Persons of Power in the Country into those Places of Trust; hoping they might prove good Instruments to oppose the threatening IncurSIONS of the Northern Rebels, which they knew them well enabled to perform, if they would really join in the Service, or, at least, be kept, by this their great Confidence in them, from giving any Entertainment or Assistance to their rebellious Designs.

The Commission, directed to the Lord of *Gormanstone*, I have thought fit here to insert: It was found afterwards in his Study by some of his Majesty's Army, when he and all the rest of the Governors, that were of the *Romish* Religion, thus chosen, deserted their Houses, and openly declared themselves in actual Rebellion. The other Commissions were all of the same Tenor.

‘ *By the Lords Justices and Council.*

‘ WILLIAM PARSONS, JOHN BORLACE.

‘ RIGHT trusty and Well-beloved, we greet
 ‘ you well. Whereas divers most disloyal and
 ‘ malignant Persons within this Kingdom have
 ‘ traiterously conspired against his Majesty, his
 ‘ Peace, Crown, and Dignity, and many of
 ‘ them, in Execution of their Conspiracy, are
 ‘ traiterously assembled together in a warlike
 ‘ Manner, and have most inhumanely made
 ‘ Destruction and Devastation of the Persons and
 ‘ Estates of divers of his Majesty’s good and
 ‘ loyal Subjects of this Kingdom, and taken,
 ‘ slain, and imprisoned great Numbers of
 ‘ them; we, out of our Care and Zeal for the
 ‘ common Good, being desirous by all Means
 ‘ to suppress the said Treasons and Traitors,
 ‘ and to conserve the Persons and Fortunes of
 ‘ his Majesty’s loving Subjects here in Safety;
 ‘ and to prevent the further Spoil and Devasta-
 ‘ tion of his Majesty’s good People here, do there-
 ‘ fore hereby require and authorize you, to levy
 ‘ raise and assemble all, every, or any the For-
 ‘ ces, as well Footmen as Horsemen within the
 ‘ County of *Meath*, giving you hereby the Com-
 ‘ mand in Chief of all the said Forces, and here-
 ‘ by further requiring and authorising you, as
 ‘ Commander of them in Chief, to arm, array,
 ‘ divide, distribute, dispose, conduct, lead and
 ‘ govern in Chief the said Forces, according to
 ‘ your best Discretion; and with the said Forces
 ‘ to resist, pursue, follow, apprehend and put
 ‘ to death, slay, and kill, as well by Battle as
 ‘ other ways all and singular the said Conspira-
 ‘ tors, Traitors and their Adherents, according
 ‘ to your Discretion; and, according to your
 ‘ Conscience

‘ Conscience and Discretion, to proceed against
 ‘ them, or any of them, by Martial Law, by hang-
 ‘ ing them, or any of them, till they be dead, ac-
 ‘ cording as it hath been accustomed in Time of
 ‘ open Rebellion; and also to take, waste, and
 ‘ spoil their, or any of their Castles, Holds,
 ‘ Forts, Houses, Goods, and Territories; or
 ‘ otherwise to preserve the Lives of them, or
 ‘ any of them, and to receive them into his
 ‘ Majesty’s Favour and Mercy, and to forbear
 ‘ the Devastation of their, or any of their Castles,
 ‘ Forts, Houses, Holds, Goods, and Territo-
 ‘ ries afore-mentioned, according to your Dis-
 ‘ cretion: Further hereby requiring and autho-
 ‘ rising you to do, execute and perform all and
 ‘ singular such other Things for Examination
 ‘ of Persons suspected, Discovery of Traitors
 ‘ and their Adherents; parlying with, and
 ‘ granting Protections to them or any of them;
 ‘ taking up of Carts, Carriages, and other Con-
 ‘ veniencies; sending and retaining Spies, Vic-
 ‘ tualling the said Forces, and other Things
 ‘ whatsoever conducing to the Purpose afore-
 ‘ mentioned, as you in your Discretion shall
 ‘ think fit, and the Necessity of the Service re-
 ‘ quire: Further hereby requiring and authorising
 ‘ you, as Commander in Chief, to constitute and
 ‘ appoint such Officers, and Ministers, respec-
 ‘ tively, for the better Performance and Execu-
 ‘ tion of all and singular the Premises, as you in
 ‘ your Discretion shall think fit. And we do
 ‘ hereby require and command all and singular
 ‘ his Majesty’s Sheriffs, Officers, and Ministers,
 ‘ and loving Subjects, of and within the County
 ‘ of *Meath*, and the Borders thereof, upon their
 ‘ Faith and Allegiance to his Majesty, and to
 ‘ his Crown, to be aiding, helping, and assist-
 ‘ ing to you, in the doing, and executing of all
 ‘ and

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‘ and singular the Premises. This our Com-
 ‘ mission to continue during our Pleasure only ;
 ‘ and, for the so doing, this shall be your suffici-
 ‘ ent Warrant. Given at his Majesty’s Castle
 ‘ of *Dublin*, *Novem.* 1641.

‘ *R. Dillon, Jo. Temple,*
 ‘ *Ja. Ware, Rob. Meredith.*

‘ To our very good Lord *Nicholas*, Visc.
 ‘ Com. *Gormanstone.*’

In these Commissions it is very observable, that there was Power given to these Lords and Gentlemen, to whom they were directed, not only to use Fire and Sword, for the Destruction of the *Rebels* and their Adherents, but also to preserve the Lives of any of them, to receive them, or any of them, into his Majesty’s Favour or Mercy. This plainly shews the very great Confidence the Lords were pleased to repose in them; as also their Desires to make them Instruments, to deliver those Multitudes of People, that engaged themselves in this Rebellion, from the Power either of his Majesty’s Arms, or civil Justice. They intended nothing but the reducing of a rebellious Nation; and they at the first applied Lenitives, which failing in the Cure, they were afterwards then enforced to have recourse to more violent Medicines.

That these Governors thus constituted might be the better enabled, according to the Authority and Power given unto them by their several Commissions, to undertake the Defence of the Country in this high Extremity of the near approaching Dangers, the Lords took Order to have delivered unto them a certain Proportion
 of

of Arms, to be employed for the arming of some Men, to be raised in each County for the common Safety, besides the Arms they gave them, and other Gentlemen, for the Defence of their own private Houses.

As to the Lord of *Gormanstone*, there were delivered Arms for five hundred Men, for the County of *Meath*; there were also delivered Arms for three hundred Men, for the County of *Kildare*; Arms for three hundred Men, for the County of *Louth*; Arms for three hundred Men, for the County of *West-Meath*; Arms for three hundred Men, for the County of *Dublin*: And about the same time there were sent down four hundred Muskets, to the Lords of the *Ardes* and *Clandeboys*, for the arming of the *Scots*, in the County of *Downe*. All these had Powder, Lead, and Match, proportionable to their Arms, at the same time delivered to them.

But now the Poison of this Rebellion, which had hitherto contained itself within the Northern Counties, and the Confines of them, began to be diffused into other Parts of the Kingdom; it had already infected the Counties of *Letrim*, *Longford*, *West-Meath*, and *Louth*, lying contiguous unto them; and, on the 12th of *November*, the *Irish* in the County of *Wiclow* broke out most furiously, despoiling, robbing and murdering all the *English* Inhabitants within that Territory: They burnt all their fair well-built Houses, drove away their Cattle, and laid siege to Fort *Carew*, wherein was a Foot-Company of the old Army.

The News being brought to the Lords Justices thereof, they well considered the Importance of the Place, and that, if it were in the Hands of the *Rebels*, and that whole County in
their

their Possession, they could expect little Quietness, or even Safety in the City, by reason of their near Neighbourhood. Whereupon they were most desirous to have sent down Forces for the Relief of it: But, when they came on the other Side to consider their want of Means for the Performance of that Service, that they had no Money, but few Men, and many of them not to be trusted; that it would be very dangerous to divide their small Forces, and so to leave the City in a manner unguarded, they were enforced to lay aside that Resolution, and with great Grief to sit still, and suffer the poor *English* in those Parts to be exposed to the merciless Cruelties of those *barbarous Rebels*, who went on furiously with the Work, and quickly cleared all that County of the *English* Inhabitants.

Within few Days after, the *Irish* in the Counties of *Wexford* and *Caterlagh* began to rise likewise, and to follow the bloody Examples of their Neighbours. There were now also great Apparencies of the Disloyalty of the County of *Kildare*, who, with large Protestations under the Pretence of doing Service, had gotten into their Hands the Arms and Ammunition designed for them by the State: And so mysterious and doubtful was the Carriage of the Lords and chief Gentlemen of the *English Pale*, giving no manner of Intelligence to the State of the Proceedings of the Rebels, nor making any kind of Preparatives against them, as their Affections began even then to be justly suspected.

So as the City of *Dublin*, being the Receptacle of the whole State, the Magazine of all the Arms, Ammunition and other Provisions for the Army, and the chief Sanctuary of all the *English* and despoiled *Protestants*, was now reduced

duced to a very sad Condition, desperately encompassed on every Side, the Northern Rebels being come down, in two several Parties with great Forces, within twenty Miles of it on the one Side, and the Rebels of the County of *Wicklow* infesting it on the other Side; which, with the great Resort of Strangers, and the continual Rumours of new Plots and Devices to surprise the Town, possessed the *Protestants* with extraordinary Fears of the present Danger.

But that which made their Condition appear much more formidable unto them, was the daily Repair of Multitudes of *English*, that came up in Troops, stripped and miserably despoiled, out of the North: Many Persons of good Rank and Quality, covered over with old Rags, and some without any other Covering than a little twisted Straw to hide their Nakedness: Some reverend Ministers, and others, that had escaped with their Lives, sorely wounded: Wives came bitterly lamenting the Murders of their Husbands, Mothers of their Children barbarously destroyed before their Faces, poor Infants ready to perish, and pour out their Souls in their Mothers Bosoms: Some over-wearied with long travel, and so surbated, as they came creeping on their Knees, others frozen up with Cold, ready to give up the Ghost in the Streets; others overwhelmed with Grief, distracted with their Losses, lost also their Senses.

Thus was the Town, within the Compass of a few Days after the Breaking-out of this Rebellion, filled with these most lamentable Spectacles of Sorrow, which in great Numbers wandered up and down, in all Parts of the City, desolate, forsaken, having no Place to lay their Heads on, no Cloathing to cover their Nakedness,

ness, no Food to fill their hungry Bellies: And, to add to their Miseries, they found all manner of Relief very disproportionable to their Wants, the *Popish* Inhabitants refusing to minister the least Comfort unto them; so as those sad Creatures appeared like living Ghosts in every Street.

Many empty Houses in the City were, by special Direction, taken up for them; Barns, Stables and Out-houses filled with them; yet many lay in the open Streets, and others under Stalls, and there most miserably perished. The Churches were the common Receptacles of the meaner sort of them, who stood there in a most doleful Posture, as Objects of Charity, in so great Multitudes, as there was scarce any Passage into them: But those of better Quality, who could not frame themselves to be common Beggars, crept into private Places, and some of them, that had not private Friends to relieve them, even wasted silently away, and so died without Noise; and so bitter was the Remembrance of their former Condition, and so insupportable the Burthen of their present Calamity, to many of them, as they even refused to be comforted.

I have known of some that lay almost naked, and, having Clothes sent, laid them by, refusing to put them on; others that would not stir to fetch themselves Food, though they knew where it stood ready for them; but they continued to lie nastily in their filthy Rags, and even their own Dung, not taking care to have any thing clean, handsome or comfortable about them: And so, even worn out with the Misery of their Journey and cruel Usage, having their Spirits spent, their Bodies wasted, and their Senses failing,

ing, lay here pitifully languishing; and, soon after they had recovered this Town, very many of them died, leaving their Bodies as Monuments of the most inhumane Cruelties used towards them.

The greatest Part of the Women and Children, thus barbarously expelled out of their Habitations, perished in the City of *Dublin*; and so great Numbers of them were brought to their Graves, as all the Church-yards within the *whole Town* were of too narrow a Compass to contain them: So as the Lords took Order to have two large Pieces of new Ground, one on each Side the River, taken in upon the out Greens, and set apart for Burying-places.

These were the memorable Spectacles of Mercy, and of the great Commiseration the *Rebels* used to those *English*, to whom they gave their Lives for a Prey. But what their Sufferings were, before they could get out of the Hands of those *bloody Villains*, what strange, horrid Inventions they used towards them, torturing and massacreing those they there murdered, is reserved to be more fully related in its proper Place. They are left upon Record to Posterity, under the Oaths of many that escaped, and mentioned here to no other Purpose, than to shew the strange Horror and Amazement the beholding of them bred in all the *English* and *Protestant* Inhabitants of the City.

They, seeing the *Rebels* prevail so mightily, expected, if they continued here, to be undoubtedly exposed to the same Cruelties; and they now understood, by those who were come up from among them, that their Design was, as soon as they had taken in *Tredagh*, to come and seize upon the City and Castle of *Dublin*, and so

to

to make a general Extirpation of all the *English*, Root and Branch, not to leave them Name or Posterity throughout the whole Kingdom.

It is easy to conjecture what a sad confused Countenance the City then had; what Fears, Terror and Astonishment, the miserable Spectacles within, and the Approaches of the *Rebels* without, raised in the Minds of an affrighted, distracted People. The *English* Inhabitants looked upon all the horrid Cruelties exercised abroad, all the Calamities and Desolations fallen upon their Countrymen in other Parts of the Kingdom, as arrived at these Gates, and now ready to enter; the Avenues all open, neither Hope nor Means, neither Ramparts nor Trenches to keep them out: Notwithstanding the careful Travels and Endeavours used by the Lords Justices and Council to make Provision for the common Safety, no Money could be raised, few Men gotten together; the *Papists* well furnished with Arms closely concealed, and desperately animated by their *Priests* to all manner of Mischief; no Fortifications about the Suburbs, nor any manner of Defence for the City, but an old ruinous Wall, Part whereof fell down in the very Height of these Distractions: And so careless were the Citizens, and so slowly went they about the making up that Breach, as, under Pretence of Want of Money, they let it lie open till the Lords sent unto them 40 *l.* toward the Reparation.

All Things tended to a sudden Confusion; the very Face of the City was now changed, and had such a ghastly Aspect, as seemed to portend her near approaching Ruin; the Means of Safety appearing very slender and inconsiderable, the Applications, by reason of the strange

Aversions

Aversions of the *Papish* Party, of a very slow and weak Operation. Every Man began to consider himself and his own private Preservation; those that lived in the Suburbs removed with their Families into the City; the Privy Counsellors and Persons of Quality into the Castle, which became a common Repository of all Things of Value. The *Rolls* were by special Order removed thither, the Records of several other Offices were likewise brought in: But, upon the *Rebels* advancing somewhat nearer, and their frequent Alarms, many of those, who had there taken sanctuary, began to suspect the Strength of those old crazy Walls; and therefore, to make sure, resolved to quit the Kingdom, imbarcking themselves and their Goods with all possible Speed: Some, who were detained with contrary Winds in the Harbour, chose rather to endure all extremities on Shipboard, than to hazard themselves ashore again.

The *Scotish* Fishermen, who lay with their Boats in great Numbers within the Bay, fishing for Herrings, having with much Forwardness made an Offer to the State, to bring 500 of their Men ashore to be put in Arms, and do present Service, (a Proposition at that Season most acceptable) were so strangely affrighted one Evening with a false Alarm, as that in the Night, on a sudden they put to Sea, and quite disappeared on these Coasts till the Year following.

The *Papists* on the other side, being most confident that the City would be taken and sacked by the *Rebels*, and fearing, least happily they might be mistaken in the Tumult and fierce Execution, removed themselves and their Goods with the same speed into the Country.

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And that which heightened the Calamity of the poor *English* was, their Flight in the Winter, in such a dismal, stormy, tempestuous Season, as in the Memory of Man had never been observed to continue so long together : Yet, the Terror of the Rebels incomparably prevailing beyond the Rage of the Sea, most of those who could provide themselves of Shipping, though at never so excessive Rates, deserted the City : And such was the Violence of the Winds, such continuing impetuous Storms, as several Barks were cast away ; some, in three Months after their going from hence, could recover no Port in *England*, and almost all that then put to Sea were in great Danger of perishing.

The Iniquities of the *English* Nation, which were very great in this Kingdom, were now full ; Heaven and Earth seemed to conspire together for the Punishment of them ; God certainly declared his high Indignation against them for their great Sins, wherewith they had long continued to provoke him in this Land, and suffered these *barbarous Rebels* to be the Instruments of Mischief, and cruel Executioners of his fierce Wrath upon them. *But, because they have taken Vengeance with a despightful Heart to destroy them ; for the old Hatred, he will certainly in his own Time execute great Vengeance upon them with furious Rebukes, as he threatened the Philistines in the like Case, Ezek. xxv. 15, 17.*

The Particulars of the first Plot of the Irish Rebellion: Together with a brief Narration of the most notorious Cruelties and bloody Massacres, which ensued in several Parts of this Kingdom.

THUS we see what a great Height this *Rebellion* was grown up unto, within the Space of less than one Month, after the very first Appearance of it: What horrid Murthers, cruel Outrages, and fearful Desolations it had already wrought in one Province, and what a powerful Operation the Cruelties there acted had upon other Parts. But before I pass further, or come to declare the universal Dilation of it throughout the whole Kingdom, and how it pleased God, even miraculously, to bless the painful Endeavours of the State, in the Preservation of the City and Castle of *Dublin*, till the Arrival of the long-expected Succours out of *England*, I hold not amiss to look back, and, as far as the late Discoveries and dark Glimmerings we have into the first Plot will admit, to trace it up to the first Beginnings we find of it within this Kingdom of *Ireland*.

Concerning the first Original of this great Conspiracy, as likewise the first Plotters and Contrivers of it, I must ingenuously confess, that I am myself much unsatisfied in the first Conceptions of this monstrous Birth, and therefore shall not now be able clearly to resolve others therein: I cannot yet determine who were the very first Contrivers, where the first Debates were entertained, or who first sat in Council about it. This, as all other Works of this Nature, had its Foundation laid in the Dark,

and sealed up, no doubt, with many execrable Oaths, the great Engines of these Times, to bind up the Consciences as well as the Tongues of Men from Discovery: Besides, they knew well enough, that the Plot being most abominable in itself, to be carried on with such detestable Cruelty, should it take and be fully executed, which commonly gives to all other Treasons Applause and highest Commendation, would certainly render the first Authors, as well as the bloody Actors, most odious and execrable to all Posterity; therefore it is not much to be wondered, that the first Beginnings, so mysterious and obscurely laid, remain as yet concealed with so great *Obstinacy*. But yet, I am very confident, that, upon View of several Examinations, any reasonable Man will conclude with me, that the very first Principles of this inhuman Conspiracy were roughly drawn and hammered out at the *Romish* Forge, powerfully fomented by the Treachery and virulent Animosities of some of the chief *Irish* Natives, and so, by degrees, by them moulded into that ugly Shape wherein it first appeared: There certainly it received the first Life and Motion, whether at *Rome*, whether in *Ireland*, or in any other Place, I cannot yet determine; but my Meaning is, it was first hatched and set on foot by those most vigilant and industrious Emissaries, who are sent continually abroad, by the Power of that See, with full Commission, *per fas & nefas*, to make way for the Re-establishment of the *Romish* Religion, in all Parts where it hath been suppressed. Great Numbers of these wicked Instruments, the Laws against all of the *Romish* Clergy being of late laid aside, and tacitly suspended Execution, came over in-

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to *Ireland*: The main Ground-work and first Predispositions to a Rebellion in general, were most undoubtedly, with great Dexterity and Artifice, laid by them; their venomous Infusions taking such deep Roots in the Minds of a blind, ignorant, superstitious People, as made them ready for a Change; the great ones mischievously to plot and contrive, the inferior Sort tumultuously to rise up and execute whatsoever they should command.

And, if we will give credit to several Examinations taken, many of them from those of their own, we must believe the Plot for a Rebellion in *Ireland* of a very antient Date, as well as of a large Extent; it had been long in contriving, and howsoever peradventure first thought on in *Ireland*, yet received large Contributions towards Consummation out of *England*, and other foreign Parts.

I have seen an Examination of one, who affirms, he heard it confidently averred by *Malone*, a Priest, one that stiled himself Chaplain Major within the *Pale*, that he himself had been seven Years employed in bringing on this Plot to Perfection, and that he had travelled into several Parts about it.

Master *Goldsmith*, a Minister in *Conaght*, told me, That he did, a full Year before the Rebellion broke out, receive a Letter from a Brother of his residing at *Brussels*, wherein he gave him Notice thereof, though so obscurely, as he well understood it not till afterwards.

Patrick O Bryan, of the Parish of *Galloom*, in the County of *Fermanagh*, affirmeth upon Oath, ' That all the Nobles in the Kingdom, ' that were *Papists*, had a Hand in this Plot, as ' well as the Lord *Mac-Guire* and *Hugh Oge*

‘ *Mac-Mahon*; that they expected Aid out of
 ‘ *Spain* by *Owen Roe O Neale*; and that Colo-
 ‘ nel *Plunket*, one of those that was to be an
 ‘ Actor in the Surprise of the Castle of *Dub-*
 ‘ *lin*, told him, that he knew of this Plot eight
 ‘ Years since, and that within these three Years
 ‘ he hath been more fully acquainted with it’.

Francis Sacheveril, Esq; hath deposed, ‘ That,
 ‘ at several Times, shortly after the Beginning
 ‘ of this Rebellion, he hath heard four several
 ‘ *Papish* Priests, viz. *Hugh Rely*, of the Coun-
 ‘ ty of *Downe*; *Edmund O Tunnab*, of the
 ‘ County of *Ardmagh*; *Morice Mac-Credan*, of
 ‘ the County of *Tyrone*; and *James Hallegan*,
 ‘ of the County of *Ardmagh*, say, that the
 ‘ Priests, Jesuits, and Friars, of *England*, *Ire-*
 ‘ *land*, *Spain*, and other Countries beyond the
 ‘ Seas, were the Plotters, Projectors, and Con-
 ‘ trivers of this Rebellion and Insurrection;
 ‘ and that they have been these six Years in Agi-
 ‘ tation and Preparation of the same; and that
 ‘ the said Priests did then express a Kind of
 ‘ Joy, that the same was brought to so good
 ‘ Effect.’

He also further deposeth, ‘ That at several
 ‘ times *Ever Boy Mac-Gennis*, in the County of
 ‘ *Downe*, Gent. and *Hugh O Hagan*, in the
 ‘ County of *Ardmagh*, Gent. did brag and say,
 ‘ that they doubted not but that they should
 ‘ shortly conquer the *English* in the Kingdom,
 ‘ and enjoy the same quietly to themselves; and
 ‘ that they would not rest so content, but they
 ‘ would raise strong Armies to invade and con-
 ‘ quer *England*.’

Roger Moore, one of the prime Conspirators,
 told Master *Colely*, then Prisoner with him,
 ‘ That the Plot had been in framing several
 ‘ Years,

‘ Years, and should have been executed several times, but they were still hindered.’

By Letters sent from *Rome* to Sir *Phelim O Neale* and the Lord *Mac-Guire*, which were intercepted and brought to the Lord *Parsons*, though the Frier that writ them doth not express any certain Knowledge of this very Plot, yet thus much appears by them, that they had long desired to hear of the Rising of the *Irish*, that the News of Sir *Phelim O Neale*’s taking Arms was very acceptable to the Pope and his two Cardinal Nephews, assuring him of all Assistance from thence; and further desiring him to send over an Agent to *Rome*, and to employ several Persons of his own Nation, whom he there named, then residing at *Madrid*, *Paris*, and with the Emperor, they being fit Instruments, and such as he might make use of for the procuring Succours from those Princes, whom he assured him would join to give him all Assistance in this Action.

Besides these, we have many other Presumptions, that the *Irish*, since they found their own Strength, and that they were able to draw together so great Numbers of Men, as their several *Septs*, so strangely multiplied during the late Peace, can now afford, have long had it in design to shake off the *English* Government; to settle the whole Power of the State in the Hands of the Natives, and to re-possess them of all the Lands now enjoyed by the *British* throughout the Kingdom; and that in this Plot they did but go about to actuate those confused general Notions, and to put them in a way of Execution. Now they supposed, there could never be offered unto them a fairer Opportunity than this most unhappy Conjunction of the Affairs of

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Great Britain, when *Scotland*, lately in Arms, had, by their own Power and wise Managements, drawn his Majesty to condescend to their entire Satisfaction, as well in their Church-discipline, as the Liberties of that Kingdom. And in *England* the Distractions being grown up to some Height, through the great Misunderstanding betwixt the King and his Parliament, *Ireland* was at this Time left naked and unregarded, the Government in the Hands of Justices, the old Army dispersed in Places of so great Distance, as it could be of little Advantage, the common Soldiers most of them *Irish*, and all the old Commanders and Captains, except some few, worn out and gone : This, as the first Plotters thought, was the Time to work out their own Ends, and, masking their perfidious Designs under the public Pretences of Religion, and the Defence of his Majesty's Prerogative, they let loose the Reins of their own vindictive Humour and irreconcilable Hatred to their *British* Neighbours.

I will not presume to say, they knew what would fall out in *England*, or what miserable Embroilments that Kingdom was ready to break out into ; for undoubtedly the first Plot was laid, and most exactly formed many Months before the War broke out betwixt the King and his People. But thus much I shall be bold to affirm, that, upon the very first Breaking-out of this Rebellion, they did strangely conjecture, and, beyond all Appearance of Reason, even somewhat positively divine, of the dismal Breach and fearful Distempers which afterwards followed, to the disabling of the Kingdom of *England* from applying Remedies towards the Reducement of *Ireland*. For the Attestation of
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this Truth, I could produce the general Concurrence of several Circumstances, many private Discourses and Advertisements; as also a particular Letter which I had long by me, written, as it seems, from a very intelligent *Papist*, a great Zealot in the Cause, unto a Nephew of Sir *Toby Matthew's*, then in *Dublin*, who, though lately converted, retained yet a great Friendship among them. He tells him in the Beginning of the Letter, that he was desired, from some well-wishing Friends, to advise him, as he tendered his Safety and Security, upon the Sight of those instantly to forsake and abandon that troublesome and most unfortunate Kingdom; for God and Man had speedily resolved to afflict and punish the over-grown Impieties of these profane Times, all Hearts and Hands happily conspiring to it; and that he should be as speedy in his Passage as was possible, and rather, as the Case stood, hazard all Dangers by Sea, than the least at Land; to be sure not to stop in *England*, especially at *London*, that Sink of Sin, as he calls it, and Center of Disorders; for, by that Time he arrived there, he should be sure to find nothing but Troubles, Factions, and desperate Distempers; that he should dispatch therefore for *Paris*, or rather *Brussels*, where there should be Order taken for the Removal of all Mistakes betwixt him and his Uncle. This Letter was written about the Beginning of *November*, 1641, which was some few Days after the Breaking-out of this Rebellion, and full six Months before the taking up of Arms in *England*.

Now for the very Time when this great Plot received its first Form, though I conceive it of somewhat a more antient Date, yet by all the
Examina-

Examinations I have hitherto seen, I can carry it up no higher than the Month of *January*, 1640; and that it was about that Time communicated to some of the chief Gentlemen of *Ulster*, the Lord *Mac-Guire* doth sufficiently testify, as well in the Relation written with his own Hand in the Tower, and delivered by him to Sir *John Coniers*, then Lieutenant, to be presented to the Lords in Parliament, as also in his Examination taken before the Lord *Lambart* and Sir *Robert Meredith*, Knt. in *Ireland*, *March* 26, 1642.

In both these he acknowledgeth, That he, being in *Dublin* in *Candlemas-term*, about the Time when Master *John Bellew* came out of *England* with the Commission for the Continuance of the Parliament in *Ireland*, *Roger Moore* acquainted him, that if the *Irish* would rise, they might make their own Conditions for the regaining of their Lands, and Freedom of their Religion; and further saith, That he had spoken with sundry of *Lemster* to that purpose, who would be ready to join with them, as likewise a good Part of *Conaught*; and that he found all of them willing thereto, if so be they could draw to them the Gentlemen of *Ulster*.

Now, for the Manner of putting this Plot in Execution, the said Lord *Mac-Guire* doth further testify in his Relation aforesaid, That the said *Roger Moore*, having the next Day acquainted *Philip O Rely*, *Turlagh O Neale*, Brother to Sir *Phelim O Neale*, Master *Cesloe*, and *Mac-Mahon* herewith did propose, That, first, every one should endeavour to draw his own Friends into that Act, at least those that did live in one Country with them; and that, when they had so done, they should send to the *Irish* in the *Low-Coun-*

Countries and in *Spain*, to let them know of the Day and Resolution ; so that they might be over with them by that Day, or soon after, with Supply of Arms and Ammunition ; that there should be a set Day appointed, and every one in his own Quarters should rise out that Day, and seize upon all the Arms he could get in his own County, and this Day to be near Winter, so that *England* could not be able to send Forces into *Ireland* before *May* ; and by that Time there was no doubt to be made, but that they themselves would be supplied by the *Irish* from beyond the Seas.

Then he told them further, That there was no doubt to be made of the *Irish* joining with them, and that all the Doubt was in the Gentlemen of the *Pale* ; but he said, for his own Part, he was really assured, that, when they had risen out, the *Pale* Gentlemen would not stay long after, at least they would not oppose any thing ; and that, in case they did, that they had Men enough in the Kingdom without them : Moreover, that he had spoken to a Great-man, (who then should be nameless) who would not fail, at the Day appointed, to appear and to be seen in the Act, but that till then he was sworn not to reveal him ; but yet that, upon their Importunity, he afterwards told them, it was the Lord of *Mayo*, who was very powerful in the Command of Men in those Parts of *Conaught*, where he lived.

He further saith, That in *Lent* following, Master *Moore*, according to his Promise, came into *Ulster*, but that nothing was done there, but all Matters put off till *May* following, where they met at *Dublin*, it being both Parliament and Term-time, and that from thence they dispatched

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ed one *Tooly Conley*, Parish-Priest, to Master *Moore*, to Colonel *O Neale*, in the *Low-Countries*, who within few Months after arrived with this Answer from the said Colonel, desiring them not to delay any Time in Rising-out, but to let him know of the Day when they intended it, and that he would not fail to be with them within fourteen Days of that Day, with good Aid; also desiring them, by any Means, to seize on the Castle of *Dublin*, if they could.

And further he saith, That, during the Time of these their private Meetings, there landed at *Dublin*, Colonel *Birne*, Colonel *Plunket*, Captain *Brien O Neale*, and others, who came with Directions to carry Men away, and that these were acquainted with the Plot, and did offer their Service to bring it on, and that they would raise their Men under Colour to carry them into *Spain*, and then seize on the Castle of *Dublin*, and, with the Arms found there, arm their Soldiers, and have them ready for any Action that should be commanded them.

He further also saith, That they had divers private Consultations about the carrying on of this Conspiracy, not only at *Dublin*, but in several other Places in the Province of *Ulster*, and that they had set down several Days for the putting of it in Execution; but, meeting with some Obstacles, did not come to conclude of the certain Time, till about the Beginning of *September*, and that then they peremptorily resolved on the 23d of *October*, for the Day to execute this long-designed Plot in; and that they had respect unto the Day of the Week, which did fall on *Saturday*, being the Market-day, on which there would be the less Notice taken of People up and down the Streets; that they then settled
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what Numbers of Men should be brought up out of the several Provinces for the Surprise of the Castle, and what Commanders should lead them on ; that, seeing the Castle had two Gates, that the *Lemster-men* should undertake to seize upon the little Gate, which lay nearest to the Place where the Arms and Ammunition was placed ; and that the great Gate should be undertaken by those of *Ulster* ; and that Sir *Pbelim O Neale* should be there in Person ; but that he excused himself, because he resolved at the same Time to seize upon *London-derry* ; and that thereupon, by the Importunity of the Undertakers, it was imposed upon him, the said Lord *Mac-Guire*, to be there in Person at the Taking of the Castle of *Dublin*.

That it was further resolved what Number of Forces should be brought up out of the other Provinces, to make good those Places if possessed by them, and that Sir *James Dillon* did undertake to be there with 1000 Men within four Days after the taking of the Castle ; as also, that it was resolved, that every one, privy to that Matter in every Part of the Kingdom, should rise out that Day, and seize on all the Forts and Arms in the several Counties ; as likewise on all the Gentry, and make them Prisoners, the more to assure themselves against any adverse Fortune, and not to kill any but where of necessity they should be forced thereunto by Opposition.

These Particulars, together with many other Circumstances very considerable, are set down in the Relation given in by the Lord *Mac-Guire*, while he remained Prisoner in the Tower of *London* ; but I have thought fit to forbear to relate them at large, because I find that Relation published

lished by Authority, and so presented to the common View.

We shall find also, that *Mac-Mahon*, in his Examination, taken when he was first apprehended by the Lords Justices and Council here, doth testify, That all the Chief of the Nobility and Gentry in this Kingdom were acquainted with the first Plot, and particularly, that all the *Popish* Party, in the Committee sent into *England*, as likewise in both Houses of Parliament, knew of it.

In the Examination of *William Fitz-Gerald*, it is there affirmed, That Sir *Phelim O Neale*, sending for him five Days after his rising in Arms, told him what he did was by Directions and Consent of the prime Nobility and Gentry of the whole Kingdom; and that what he had done in the Northern Parts, the same was executed at *Dublin*, and in all other Forts and Towns throughout *Ireland*: As being a Course resolved upon among the Lords and Gentry, for the Preservation of his Majesty's Prerogative, their own Religion and Liberties, against the *Puritan* Faction in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*.

And that the Lord of *Gormanstone* knew of this Plot while he was in *England*, is testified by Lieutenant Colonel *Read* in his Examination, as also by the Lord *Mac-Guire* in his Relation; who saith, That Colonel *Plunket* told him, that he, being at *London*, had acquainted some of the *Irish* Committee, and particularly the Lord of *Gormanstone*, with this Plot, and that they approved it well.

Colonel *Plunket*, in his Letter to Father *Patrick Barnwal*, Lord Abbot of *Mellifont*, as he styles him, doth seem much to glory in the Means
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he had used to incite the Lords and Gentry of the *Pale* to appear in that blessed Cause, as he terms it, and assures him, that the Lord of *Gormanstone*, whom he there calls Lord General, will go bravely on.

And now it will be no difficult Matter to resolve what were the secondary Steps and Motions of this great Plot, as well as by what Persons it was wrought out in *Ireland*; and carried on to the very Point of Execution. And, first, it is to be observed, that howsoever Sir *Phelim O Neale*, the Lord *Mac-Guire*, *Philip O Rely*, Colonel *Mac-Brian*, *Hugh Mac-Mahon*, and their Adherents, chief of the *Irish Septs* in *Ulster*, and other Counties near adjacent, did first appear upon the Stage, and, by their bloody Execution, notoriously declare themselves chief Actors in this horrid Tragedy: Yet this *Rebellion* was neither altogether nor originally plotted by them, most of them had but subordinate Notions of it, and they, as other of the chief Nobility and Gentry throughout the Kingdom, had several Parts assigned them to act at several Times in several Places, and did but move according to the first Resolutions taken, and such Directions as they had received from the first Conspirators. I take it to be most probable, after the general Plot came to be reduced into Form, that, as the Lord of *Gormanstone* was one of the first and chief Movers in it, so he and the chief of the *Pale* joined together to draw in as they had done in all former Rebellions, the principal *Septs* of the old *Irish*, to engage themselves, and to appear first in the Business: And after they had joined together, and so finely ordered the Matter, as they had made it a *general Rising*, as Sir *Phelim O Neale* terms it, of all the *Catholics* throughout
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the Kingdom, with the general Consent of the prime Nobility and Gentry thereof; then, as it were, with one general Voice, they sounded forth, from all the four Provinces of *Ireland*, the same Language, they used the same Remonstrances, and made the very same Pretences for their Justification, they began the very self-same Course, first in Stripping, then Bannishing, and Murthering the *British* and *Protestants*; only in the North they drove on somewhat more furiously, and spilt much more innocent Blood, than in any of the other three Provinces: They agreed likewise in recalling their Commanders, all the four Provinces had their particular Emissaries abroad: Those of *Lemster* brought back Colonel *Preston*, a Branch out of the House of *Gormanstone*, who had long lived with good Reputation in *Flanders*, and him they made General of their Forces there; but of *Ulster* they sent into *Flanders* likewise for *Owen Roe O Neale*, upon whom they conferred the same Charge in that Province; the *Munster-men* brought over *Garrat Barry*, whom they made General of their Forces; and those in *Conaught* drew back one of the *Burks*, to whom they gave the chief Command of such Men as they were able to draw together, for the Advancement of the common Design: All these held a due Correspondency, and, in all their Actions, had a just Concurrence towards the main End.

The great Instrument chiefly imployed in this Work of drawing the meer *Irish* into a firm Combination with the old *English*, as appears by the Lord *Mac-Guire's* Relation before mentioned, was *Roger Moore*, Esq; a Person of a broken Fortune, by Descent nearly *Irish*, and issued out of the chief Family of the *O Moores*, in the
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County of *Leax*, but, by Intermarriages, allied to some of the principal Gentlemen of the *Pale*. He treated with them about the Association ; he first broke the Design to the Northern *Irish*, he was the Man that made several Journeys into *Lemster*, into *Ulster*, and *Conaught* : Sundry Messages were interchangeably sent and returned, the Summer before the Breaking-out of the *Rebellion*, by his Means and *Intercourse between them* ; and all Things were so ordered for their Agreement, as they were to go hand in hand together : Some of the principal Gentlemen of the *Pale*, as Colonel *Plunket*, Captain *Fox*, and others, were designed to join with the Lord *MacGuire*, *Mac-Mabon*, *Brian O Neale*, *Con O Neale*, *Hugh Birne*, for the Surprise of his Majesty's Castle of *Dublin*.

Cartan, Major *Domi* to *Owen O Neale* in *Flanders*, in his Examination taken *February*, 1641, tells, among many other remarkable Passages, of several Preparatives to this Rebellion ; as that *Con O Neale*, Brother to *Daniel O Neale*, was sent by *Owen O Neale* into *England* ; and that, while he resided there, he received Letters from the President *Rosse*, (which was *Sir Pbelim O Neale*) and that he assured him he went on very well in his Business ; for *Brabant* and *Valence* were joined together, which, as he affirms, signified in those Characters *Ulster* and *Lemster*, and that he expected the coming of *Lewes Lenoy*, viz. *Daniel O Neale*.

Besides, as *James Talbot*, Esq; testifies, in his Letter of the 9th of *November*, 1641, written to the Lords Justices out of the County of *Cavan*, that he understood from *Philip Mac-Mulmore O Rely*, that there were certain Covenants passed between the Lords of the *Pale* and the

Northern *Irish*, for the advancing of the Rebellion ; and that the Remonstrance, from the principal *Irish* in the County of *Cavan*, unto the Lords Justices and Council, sent by Dean *Jones* and Master *Waldrone*, there then Prisoner, was framed in the *Pale*, and brought unto the said *Irish* by Colonel *Plunket*, one of their own : And this was in the very beginning of the Rebellion, long before any Jealousies were entertained by the State of the Adherence or Conjunction of the old *English* with the *Irish*.

What those Covenants or Contracts were, I cannot say, but it is most certain, some there were, and some Covenants also entered into, between the Northern *Irish*, and the Lords and Gentlemen of the chief of both the other Provinces, as well as *Lemster* ; and these were signed with their Blood, as Doctor *Maxwell* testifies, in his Examination, he heard Sir *Phelim O Neale* say, on the 19th of *December*, 1641, in his own House, and in the Hearing of Master *Joseph Travers*, and others : If the Lords and Gentlemen, meaning the *Papists* of other Provinces then not in Arms, would not rise, but leave him in the Lurch for all, he would produce his Warrant, signed with their own Hands, and written in their own Blood, which should bring them to the Gallows.

And certainly, had there not been some very strange and extraordinary Engagements, and more than I can well imagine, it had not been possible, that so many Persons of Quality, having great Possessions and many Children, should have declared themselves, after they saw the main Part of the Plot, for the Surprise of the Castle of *Dublin*, to fail, and the Power of the Northern Rebels begin to decline ; that the Parlia-
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ment of *England* had, with great Alacrity and Readiness, undertaken the War, and not only engaged themselves to his Majesty to send over powerful Supplies, both out of *England* and *Scotland*, but, by their public Order of both Houses, sent over to the Lords Justices, and printed at *Dublin* in the Month of *November*, fully declared their Resolutions for the vigorous Prosecution of the War of *Ireland*: Nay, the Cities of *Galway* and *Limeric* kept their Designs very covertly, not doing any open Acts of Hostility, till after the Arrival of some Forces at *Dublin* out of *England*, and that the Siege of *Droghedagh*, or *Tredagh*, was raised, and those bold perfidious Traitors beaten back into the North, the Lords of the *Pale* banished by Force of his Majesty's Arms out of their own Habitations, which were all spoiled and laid waste.

Now that then they should declare themselves is more than a Miracle to me, and such a Mystery as I should not know what to think of; but that I find, in the Lord *Mac-Guire's* Relation beforementioned, that they were acquainted with the first Beginnings of this great Plot, and had a particular Interest from time to time in the carrying of it on; so as I think I shall not wrong them positively to determine, that they were too deeply engaged slightly to retire; and that howsoever, upon the failing of it in the main Piece, they at first stood at a gaze, and were put to take up second Councils; yet such was the Strength of the Conspiracy, and their great Confidence in the Power of their Arms, as made them appear in due Time to entertain their several Assignations, and act their Parts with great Diligence and Industry.

The Wife of *Philip O'Rely*, in the County of
Cavan,

Cavan, told *James Talbot*, as he openly related it to the Lords Justices at the Council-board, that she wondered very much the Lords and Gentlemen of the *Pale* did not rise and join with them in the very Beginning of this *Rebellion*, adding these Words, or to this Effect, That, if they would have let us alone, and not set us on, we were so well at ease, as we would never have begun this troublesome Work. It cannot certainly be imagined, that those of the *English Pale*, unless they had been the first Projectors, or deep Adventurers, would have yielded, that the meer *Irish* should have seized upon the City and Castle of *Dublin*; Places of Refuge for them in all former Troubles, and which would now have given them Protection and Safety against the Incursions of the *Irish*.

But I hold it not necessary to produce further Evidence in this Particular; I purpose now to declare how those great Instruments of Mischief, that were the supream Conductors of this wicked Design, moved forwards so successfully in the Beginning, toward the Accomplishment of their long-intended Extirpation of all the *British Protestants* out of the Kingdom.

I find two Sorts of Persons who did most eminently appear in laying those main Fundamentals, whereupon their bloody Superstructions were afterwards easily reared up: And these were such of the *Popish* Lawyers as were Natives of the Kingdom, and those of the *Romish* Clergy of several Degrees and Orders.

For the First, they had, in regard of their Knowledge in the Laws of the Land, very great Reputation and Trust, they now began to stand up like great Patriots for the Vindication of the Liberties of the Subject, and Redress of their pretended

pretended Grievances ; and having, by their bold appearing therein, made a great Party in the House of Commons, here then sitting, some of them did there magisterially obtrude, as undoubted Maxims of Law, the pernicious Speculations of their own Brain, which, though plainly discerned to be full of Virulency, and tending to Sedition ; yet so strangely were many of the *Protestants*, and well-meaning Men in the House, blinded with an Apprehension of Ease and Redress, and so stupified with their bold Accusations of the Government, as most thought not fit, others durst not stand up to contradict their fond Assertions ; so as what they spake was received with great Acclamation, and much Applause, by most of the *Protestant* Members of the House ; many of which, under specious Pretences of public Zeal to this Country, they had inveigled into their Party.

And then it was, that, having impeached Sir *Richard Bolton*, Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, of High Treason, together with other prime Officers and Ministers of State that were of *English* Birth, some of those great Masters took upon them, with much Confidence, to declare the Law, to make new Expositions of their own upon the Text, to frame their *Queries* ; Challenges fitter to be taken to a long, wilfully, overgrown Misgovernment, than to be made against an Authority, that had for many Years struggled against the beloved Irregularities of a stubborn People, and which had prevailed far beyond former Times, towards the allaying of the long-continued Distempers of the Kingdom. They disdained the moderate Qualifications of the Judges, who gave them modest Answers, such as the Law and Duty to their Sovereign

would admit. But those would not serve their Turn, they resolved upon an Alteration in the Government, and drawing of it wholly into the Hands of the Natives, which they knew they could not compass in a Parliamentary Way, and therefore only made Preparatives there, and delivered such desperate Maxims, which, being diffused abroad, would fit and dispose the People to a Change: As they declared it to be Law, that being killed in Rebellion, though found by Matter of Record, would give the King no Forfeiture of Estates: That though many Thousands stood up in Arms in a Kingdom, working all Manner of Destruction, yet, if they professed not to rise against the King, it was no Rebellion: That if a Man were out-lawed for Treason, and his Land thereby vested in the Crown, or given away by the King, his Heir might come afterwards and be admitted to reverse the Outlawry, and recover his Ancestor's Estate: And many other Positions of a perilous Consequence, tending to Sedition and Disturbance, did they continue to publish during that Session, and, by the Power and Strength of their Party, so far did they prevail at last, as they presumed to attempt a Suspension of *Poyning's Act*; and indeed intended the utter Abrogation of that Statute, which remains as one of the greatest Ties and best Monuments the *English* have of their entire Dominion over the *Irish* Nation, and the Annexion of that Kingdom to the Imperial Crown of *England*. They further assumed Power of Judicature to the Parliament in criminal and capital Offences; a Right which no former Age had left any President for, neither would this admit the Example.

And

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And, thus carrying all Things before them, they continued the Session of Parliament, begun in *May*, till about two Months before the first Breaking-out of this Rebellion; it being very ill taken, that even then they were adjourned. And this they have since aggravated as a high Crime against the Lords Justices, and as one of the chief moving Causes to the Taking-up of Arms generally throughout the Kingdom.

But to let these Things pass, how finely soever these Proceedings were carried on, and, being covered over with Pretences of Zeal and public Affection, passed then currant without any manner of Suspicion; yet now the Eyes of all Men are opened, and they are fully resolved that all these Passages, together with the other high Contests in Parliament, not to have the newly raised *Irish* Army disbanded, the importunate Solicitation of their Agents in *England*, to have the old Army in *Ireland* cashiered, and the Kingdom left to be defended by *trained Bands* of their own Nation: As likewise the Commissions, procured by several of the most eminent Commanders now in Rebellion, for the raising Men to carry into *Spain*, were all Parts of this Plot, Prologues to this ensuing Tragedy, Preparatives, such as had been long laid, to bring on the sudden Execution of this *most bloody Design*, all at one and the same Time throughout the Kingdom.

Now for the Jesuits, Priests, Friars, and all the rest of the viperous Fraternity belonging to their holy Orders, who, as I said, had a main Part to act, and have not failed, with great Affiduity and Diligence, to discharge the same, they lost no Time; but most dexterously appli-

ed themselves in all Parts of the Country to lay such other dangerous Impressions in the Minds, as well of the meaner Sort, as of the chief Gentlemen, as might make them ready to take fire upon the first Occasion. And when this Plot was so surely, as they thought, laid, as it could not well fail, and the Day once prefixed for Execution, they did, in their public Devotions long before, recommend, by their Prayers, the good Success of a great Design, much tending to the Prosperity of the Kingdom, and the Advancement of the *Catholic* Cause.

And for the facilitating of the Work, and stirring up of the People, with greater Animosity and Cruelty, to put it on at the Time prefixed, they loudly in all Places declaimed against the *Protestants* ; telling the People, that they were *Heretics* , and not to be suffered any longer to live among them ; that it was no more Sin to kill an *Englishman*, than to kill a Dog ; and that it was a most mortal and unpardonable Sin to relieve or protect any of them. Then also they represented, with much Acrimony, the severe Courses taken by the Parliament in *England*, for the suppressing of the *Romish* Religion in all Parts of the Kingdom, and utter Extirpation of all Professors of it. They told the People, that in *England* they had caused the Queen's Priest to be hanged before her own Face, and that they held her Majesty in her own Person under a most severe Discipline : That the same cruel Laws against *Popery* were here ordered to be put suddenly in Execution ; and a Design secretly laid for bringing and seizing upon all the principal Noblemen and Gentlemen in *Ireland*, upon the 23d of *November* next ensuing, and so to make a general Mas-

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Massacre of all that would not desert their Religion, and presently become *Protestants*.

And now also did they take Occasion to revive their inveterate Hatred and antient Animosities against the *English* Nation, whom they represented to themselves as hard Masters; under whose Government, how pleasant, comfortable and advantageous soever it was, they would have the World believe they had endured a most miserable Captivity and Vassalage. They looked with much Envy upon their Prosperity, considering all the Land they possessed, though a great Part bought at high Rates of the Natives, as their own proper Inheritance. They grudged at the great Multitudes of their fair *English* Cattle; at their goodly Houses, though built, by their own Industry, at their own Charges; at the large Improvements they made of their Estates, by their own Travails and careful Endeavours. They spake with much Scorn and Contempt of such as brought little with them into *Ireland*, and, having there planted themselves, in a little Time contracted great Fortunes: They were much troubled, especially in the *Irish* Countries, to see the *English* live handsomely, and to have every Thing with much Decency about them, while they lay nastily buried, as it were, in Mire and Filthiness; the ordinary Sort of People commonly bringing their Cattle into their own stinking Creates, and there naturally delighting to lie among them. These malignant Considerations made them, with an envious eye, impatiently to look upon all the *British* lately come over into the Kingdom. Nothing less than a general Extirpation will now serve their Turn; they must have Restitution of all the Lands to the proper Natives, whom they
take

take to be the antient Proprietors, and only true Owners, most unjustly despoiled by the *English*, whom they hold to have made undue Acquisitions of all the Land they possess by Gift from the Crown, upon the Attainder of any of their Ancestors.

And so impetuous were the Desires of the Natives, to draw the whole Government of the Kingdom into their own Hands, to enjoy the public Profession of their Religion, as well as to disburthen the Country of all the *British* Inhabitants seated therein, as they made the whole Body of the State to be universally disliked represented the several Members as Persons altogether corrupt and ill affected; pretended the ill Humours and Distempers in the Kingdom to be grown to that Height as required Cauteries, deep Incisions; and indeed nothing able to work so great a Cure, but an *universal Rebellion*. This was certainly the Disease, as appears by all the Symptoms, and the joint Concurrence in Opinion of all the great Physicians, that held themselves wise enough to propose Remedies, and prescribe fit Applications to so desperate a Malady. In those Instructions, privately sent over into *England* by the Lord *Dillon* of *Costeloz*, presently after the Breaking-out of the Rebellion, the Alteration of the supream Power in the Government, and Settling of it in the Hands of the Earl of *Ormond*, giving Leave to the Grand Council of the Kingdom to remove such Officers of State, as they thought fit, and to recommend Natives to their Places, were there positively laid down to be a more likely Means to appease these Tumults than a considerable Army.

In the Remonstrance of the County of *Longford*, presented about the same Time to the
Lords

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Lords Justices, by the same Lord *Dillon*, as also in the Frame of the Common wealth, found at Sir *John Dungar's* House, not far from *Dublin*, and sent up thither out of *Conaught*, to be communicated to those of *Lemster*; Pieces which publicly appeared soon after the Breaking-out of the *Rebellion*; the main Points, insisted upon in them and several others, were Restauration of of the public Profession of the *Romish* Religion; Restitution of all the Plantation-Lands unto the Natives, and Settlement of the present Government in their Hands. All the Remonstrances from several Parts, and that came out of the several Provinces of the Kingdom, do concur in these Propositions, with very little or no Difference: And therefore, that the Desires, with the first Intentions of those who are now out in Rebellion, may more clearly appear, I have thought fit here to insert them as I found them, methodically digested into certain Propositions, termed,

The Means to reduce this Kingdom unto Peace and Quietness.

- ‘ 1. That a general and free Pardon, without
‘ any Exception, be granted to all his Majesty’s
‘ Subjects of this Kingdom; and that, in Pur-
‘ suance thereof, and for strengthening the same,
‘ an Act of Abolition may pass in the Parlia-
‘ ment here.
- ‘ 2. That all Marks of National Distinctions
‘ between *English* and *Irish* may be abolished
‘ and taken away by Act of Parliament.
- ‘ 3. That, by several Acts of Parliament to
‘ be respectively passed here and in *England*, it
‘ be declared, that the Parliament of *Ireland* hath
‘ do

‘ no Subordination with the Parliament of *England*, but that the same hath in itself supream
 ‘ Jurisdiction in this Kingdom, as absolute as
 ‘ the Parliament of *England* there hath.

‘ 4. That the Act of 12 *Henry VII.* commonly called *Poyning’s Act*, and all other Acts expounding or explaining the same, may be repealed.

‘ 5. That, as in *England* there past an Act for a Triennial Parliament, there may pass in
 ‘ *Ireland* another for a Sexennial Parliament.

‘ 6. That it may be enacted by Parliament, that the Act of the second of *Queen Elizabeth* in *Ireland*, and all other Acts made against
 ‘ *Catholics*, or the *Catholic* Religion, since the
 ‘ twentieth Year of King *Henry VIII.* may be
 ‘ repealed.

‘ 7. That the Bishoprics, Deanaries, and all
 ‘ other spiritual Promotions of this Kingdom,
 ‘ and all Frieries and Nunneries, may be restored to the *Catholic* Owners, and likewise all
 ‘ Improprations of Tythes, and that the Scits,
 ‘ Ambits, and Precincts of the Religious Houses
 ‘ of the Monks may be restored to them; but,
 ‘ as to the rest of their temporal Possessions, it
 ‘ is not designed to be taken from the present
 ‘ Proprietors, but to be left to them until God
 ‘ shall otherwise incline their own Hearts.

‘ 8. That such as are now entitled *Catholic*
 ‘ Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, or other Dignitaries in this Kingdom, by Donation of the
 ‘ Pope, may, during their Lives, enjoy their
 ‘ spiritual Promotions; with Protestation nevertheless, and other fit Clauses to be laid down
 ‘ for Preservation of his Majesty’s Rights of
 ‘ Patronages, First-fruits, and twentieth Parts

‘ in

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‘ in Manner and Quantity, as now his Highness
‘ receives Benefit thereby.

‘ 9. That all Inquisitions, taken since the
‘ Year 1634, to entitle his Majesty to *Conaught*,
‘ *Thomond*, *Ormond*, *Eliogartie*, *Kilnemanagh*,
‘ *Dubera*, *Wicloe*, and *Idvagh*, may be vacated,
‘ and their Estates secured, according to his
‘ Majesty’s late Graces.

‘ 10. That an Act of Parliament may pass
‘ here for the securing the Subjects Title to their
‘ several Estates against the Crown, upon any
‘ Title accrued unto it before 60 Years, or un-
‘ der Colour or Pretext of the present Commo-
‘ tions.

‘ 11. That all Plantations, made since the
‘ Year 1610, may be avoided by Parliament, if
‘ the Parliament shall hold it just, and their
‘ Possessions restored to them or their Heirs,
‘ from whom the same were taken, they never-
‘ theless answering to the Crown the Rents and
‘ Services proportionable, reserved upon the
‘ Undertakers.

‘ 12. That the Transportation of all native
‘ Commodities, to all Places of the World in
‘ Peace with his Majesty, may be free and law-
‘ ful, his Customs first paid, and that the Statutes
‘ of 10, 11, and 13 of Queen *Elizabeth*, for re-
‘ straining the Exportation of native Commodi-
‘ ties, be repealed.

‘ 13. That all Preferments Ecclesiastical,
‘ Civil and Martial in this Kingdom, that lye in
‘ his Majesty’s Gift, may be conferred on
‘ Natives of this Kingdom only, such as his
‘ Majesty shall think meet, without any Dis-
‘ tinction for Religion: Provided always, that,
‘ upon the Princes of his Blood of *England*,

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‘ he may bestow what Places he shall think
‘ meet.

‘ 14. That a Marshal and Admiral of this
‘ Kingdom may be elected in it, to have per-
‘ petual Succcession therein with the same Pre-
‘ heminance, Authority and Jurisdiction, as they
‘ respectively have in *England*; and that the said
‘ Places be ever conferred upon Noblemen, Na-
‘ tives of this Kingdom.

‘ 15. That there may be *Trained Bands* in all
‘ Cities, Towns Corporate, and Counties of this
‘ Kingdom, armed and provided at the Charge
‘ of the severall Counties, Cities and Towns, and
‘ commanded by the Natives of the same, who
‘ shall be named by the Counties, Cities and
‘ Towns respectively.

‘ 16. That his Majesty may release all Te-
‘ nures *in Capite* and by *Knight-service*; in Con-
‘ sideration whereof he shall receive a settled
‘ Revenue of 12,000*l. per Annum*, being double
‘ the Sum which he casually receives by them;
‘ Reliefs, Seifins, Licenses for Alienations,
‘ Efcuage and Aids nevertheless to remain.

‘ 17. That all Monopolies may be for ever
‘ taken away by Act of Parliament.

‘ 18. That such new Corporations, as have
‘ not the Face of Corporate Towns, and were
‘ erected to give Voices in the Parliament, may
‘ be dissolved, and their Votes taken away, and
‘ hereafter no such to be admitted to Voices in
‘ Parliament.

‘ 19. That there may be Agents chosen in
‘ Parliament, or otherwise as thought meet, to
‘ attend continually his Majesty, to represent the
‘ Grievances of this Nation; that they may be re-
‘ movable by such as did elect them; and, in
‘ case of Death or Removance, others may be
‘ for

‘ for ever successively substituted in that Place ;
‘ and that such Agents may enjoy the Freedom of their Conscience in Court, and every where else.’

These are the Means proposed by these *Catholic* Remonstrants, for reducing of the Kingdom to Peace, these the great Obstructions they would have removed, and the constant Council they would have followed, in settling the Tranquility and present Government of this Land ; so as we need seek no further Evidence, nor make any more curious Enquiries into the secret Causes of their first Rising: We have here enough, out of their own Mouths, to resolve the most scrupulous Unbeliever of their first Motives to this Rebellion. And now for the Matter of Religion, however, I am very confident, they ever really intended the Re-establishment of that of the Church of *Rome*, with all the Rites and Ceremonies thereof, together with the Extripation of all of the *reformed Profession*: Yet, considering the large Indulgence and free Liberty they universally enjoyed at that Time, in the full Exercise of that their Religion throughout all the Parts of the Kingdom, it may be most justly suspected, how zealously soever they now obtrude it, that this was only the bare outward Coverture, made use of by the principal Undertakers, to draw on a poor, ignorant, superstitious People to sacrifice their Lives in this Quarrel. Neither can it by any reasonable Man be ever presumed, that such Persons as made no Conscience of committing Treason, so many cruel Murders, and all other kind of abominable Villanies, not to be paralleled in any other Country, could be drawn, meerly out of Conscience towards God, to act these for the regaining of the free and public Profession of their Religion.

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This certainly was no more the true and main Cause of their taking up Arms, than the Redress of their pretended Grievances, whereunto his Majesty had condescended, and, out of his Inclinations for their present Relief, had given much more Satisfaction to their Agents lately in *England*, than ever they could in any other Time expect to receive or hope to enjoy: Yet we see how little Effect those great Graces, brought over not above two Months before this Rebellion brake out, took among them; for, presently after the Return of their Agents with them, this most detestable Conspiracy, which had been long in hatching, began to work, and to be put in Execution. And, if we shall consider their main Design and chief Ends therein, as they appear in their first Principles, or will give credit to the several Speeches and Passages that we meet with among the Rebels, in the very beginning of their Breaking-out; as also to several other Testimonies that have since privately fallen from some particular Persons among them, we must believe, that their Design clearly was to destroy and root out all the *British* and *Protestants* planted within this Kingdom, to cut off the Sovereignty of the Crown of *England*, and so to deliver themselves from their long-continued Subjection to the *English* Nation.

But, to come to one main Particular, taken into Debate by the prime Movers and chief Incendiaries in this *horrid Rebellion*, they had a most serious Consultation, What Course to take with most Safety to themselves, for the disburthening of the Kingdom of those Multitudes of *English*, which were in very great Numbers dispersedly planted among them? Some were of Opinion, that they should spare their Lives, not
render

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render themselves guilty of the spilling of so much innocent Blood; but that they should seize on their Goods, expel them their Habitations, and, after banishing them out of the Kingdom, proceed as the *Spaniards* did with many hundred thousands of the *Moors*, whom, as it were in a Moment, they cleared out of their Dominions. Others there were who much opposed this kind of Lenity and Moderation, remonstrating the high Inconveniencies which would inevitably redound to themselves thereby.

First, That the *British* were in so great Numbers, as they could not, either by disarming, imprisoning, or any other Means possible, ever hope to secure them from Mischief. Then, that, if they only expelled them out of the Kingdom, they would remain still as so many fit Instruments to be entertained in *England*, and from thence returned back full of revengeful Thoughts to recover their Losses; that, by their long Experience and Knowledge in the Country, they would be better Guides, more deeply engaged to prosecute the War; and, having their Bodies inured to this Climate, would prove much more able Soldiers than any new Men that could be raised, or any other ways brought over.

How they determined this Particular I shall not undertake to declare; my Intelligence fails me, and I am able to deliver no more of the Result of this great Council, than appears in the bloody Effects and horrid Executions acted in the first Beginnings of their Rebellion. It is most probable they came to no positive Conclusion, but left the chief Actors in this Particular at large, to do as should seem good to themselves. We find their first Proceedings and

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Outrages

Outrages committed upon the *English* very various, and much differing in several Places; some only stripping and expelling of them; others murdering Man, Woman, and Child, without Mercy.

But this is certain, and of most unquestionable Truth, that, by one Means or other, they resolved universally to root all the *British* and *Protestants* out of *Ireland*. And that these were the first Thoughts and bitter Fruits of the long-premeditated, malicious Intentions, sufficiently appears by their Actions, as well as by their virulent Expressions uttered upon their first Rising, when they thought the Kingdom their own. They then said openly, that they meant to destroy the *English*, and that they had made a Covenant no *Englishman* should set footing among them. Some of the *Irish* would not endure the very Sound of that Language, but would have Penalties inflicted upon them that spake *English*, and all the *English* Names of Places changed into the old *Irish* Denominations: Others professed, that they would not leave an *Englishman* or Woman alive in the Kingdom; but that all should be gone, no not so much as an *English* Beast, or any of the Breed of them. *James Hallegan*, the Priest, did read an Excommunication in the Church, which, as he alledged, came from their great *Irish* Metropolitan, and, terrifying his Parishioners therewith, he told them, That from that Day forth, whosoever did harbour or relieve any *Scot*, *English* or *Welchman*, or give them Alms at their Doors, should be excommunicated; whereby, as Master *Sacheverel* testifies in his Examination, many were starved, and died for Want in those Parts.

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We have it from Master *Creighton*, a reverend Minister, one long detained Prisoner within the County of *Cavan*, that the Friars exhorted the People with Tears to spare none of the *English*; that the *Irish* were resolved to destroy them out of the Kingdom; that they would devour, as their very Word was, the Seed of the *English* out of *Ireland*; and, when they had rid them there, they would go over into *England*, and not leave the Memorial of the *English* Name under Heaven.

The *Irish* in many Places killed *English* Cows and Sheep, merely because they were *English*; in some Places they cut off their Legs, or took out a Piece out of their Buttocks, and so let them remain still alive. The Lord *Montgarrat*, Master *Edward Butlar*, the Baron of *Logmouth*, went with their Forces into *Munster*, about the beginning of the Rising of the *Irish* there, and, while they remained about *Callen* and *Mallow*, they consumed no less than 50,000, others say 100,000. *English* Sheep, besides a great Abundance of *English* Cattle; and such as they could not eat, yet they killed and left in great Multitudes, stinking, to the great Annoyance of the Country. This was testified by *Henry Champart*, in his Examination taken before Sir *Robert Meredith*, Knt. &c.

James Shaw, a Minister, deposeth, ‘ That, after
‘ the Cessation, divers of the Rebels confessed,
‘ the Priests had given them the Sacrament,
‘ upon Condition they should not spare Man,
‘ Woman nor Child that were *Protestants*; and
‘ that he heard divers of them say, in a brag-
‘ ging Manner, that it did them a great deal of
‘ good to wash their Hands in the Blood of the

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‘ *Protestants*, whom they had slain.’ *Jurat. Jan. 7, 1643.*

Thomas Johnson, Vicar of *Tullab*, of the County of *Mayo*, depoleth, ‘ That he heard ‘ *Stephen Linch*, Prior of *Strade*, being asked, ‘ If it were not lawful to kill this Deponent, because he would not go to *Mals*? answered, ‘ That it was as lawful for them to kill him, as ‘ to kill a Sheep or a Dog: And divers of the ‘ rebellious Soldiers told him to his Face, that ‘ they would no more care to kill him, than ‘ they would do a Pig.’

John Addis, of the County of *Westmeath*, depoleth, ‘ That *Robert Magohagan*, Priest, said ‘ to this Deponent, that it was no more Pity ‘ nor Conscience to take *Englisbmen*’s Lives or ‘ Goods from them, than to take a Bone out of ‘ a Dog’s Mouth.’ *Jurat. July 21, 1642.*

And so fond and vain were their Imaginations, and to such a Height of Madnefs were they grown, as they could not terminate their Thoughts in the Reduction of *Ireland*, under the Power of their own Nation. But, as soon as they had begun their Rebellion there, they spake confidently in all Places of transporting their Arms into *England*, that they would send 30,000 Men over into that Kingdom, and that they would draw in foreign Auxiliaries thither to join with them; and so by a high Hand establish the free Exercise of the *Romish* Religion within that Kingdom. A Design certainly which the Priests and Jesuits had taken up in their own Thoughts, and by their Correspondencies abroad intended powerfully to bring about, as soon as they had settled their Affairs in *Ireland*.

And, if it had not pleased God in an extraordinary Way to bring the first Plot to light, and

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and so to bless the weak Endeavours of the State here, as to enable them, by the Assistance of those small Forces they confusedly gathered together, to hold out till the Arrival of the Succours sent out of *England*, I leave it to every one to consider, with how much Advantage they might have gone on at that Time towards the Accomplishment of so desperate a Project: And for myself, I must profess, that I am clearly resolved, that, had they at first over-mastered the unexpected Difficulties and fatal Impediments they met withal at Home, and possessed themselves of the Arms and Ammunition within the Castle of *Dublin*, and so fleshed and blooded in the Slaughter of many thousands of the *English* Nation, had transported a numerous Army of *Irish* Rebels, and suddenly landed them in some good Port within the Kingdom of *England*, they would have prevailed very far towards the miserable Desolation and Ruin thereof.

It must be remembered in what a most unhappy Discomposure the Affairs were at that Time there; what a diseased Body the State then had, and what high Distempers then strongly working soon after brake out; what a strong Party they might have found within, and with what great Reputation they would have marched on under the Glory of their late Victories atchieved in *Ireland*, signalizing the Power of their Arms with such horrid Cruelties and bloody Butcheries, as would have wrought a strange Terror among the People.

Thus we see what were the Causes and first Motives to this *unnatural Rebellion*; as likewise who were the chief Actors and the great Instruments, designed by the first Plotters, to predispose the People to a Readiness to take Arms

for the rooting out of the *British* Inhabitants from among them: The Preparatives being all made, the Plot in all Points ripe for Execution, it was carried on to the very Evening before the Day appointed for the taking of the Castle of *Dublin* without Discovery. And though it pleased God to bring it then to light, as hath been declared, and so happily to disappoint it in the main Piece; yet it took in the Northern Parts, being that very Day fully executed in most of the chief Places of Strength within the Province of *Ulster*.

And whereas the *Priests* did long before, in their public Devotions at Mass, pray for a Blessing upon a great Design they had then in Hand; so now, as I have heard, they did in many Places, the very Day before the Breaking-out of this *Rebellion*, give the People a Dismiss at Mass, with free Liberty to go out and take Possession of all their Lands, which, they pretended, were unjustly detained from them by the *English*; as also to strip, rob, and despoil them of all their Goods and Cattle. They had without doubt, by one means or other, either private or public Instructions, not to leave to the *English* any thing that might afford the least Comfort or Hope of longer Subsistence among them.

This was the main Bait used to draw on the common People; and this wrought far more powerfully than all other Persuasions, Fictions, or wild *Chimeras* that they infused into them. It is most apparent, that the prime Gentlemen in all Parts, as well as their *Clergy*, pressed them on to despoil the *English* of all their Goods and Cattle, well knowing their avaricious Humour and greedy Desires to get them into their Possession,

sion, and that they could not possibly find out any other Thing, that would engage them more readily to undertake, or more desperately to execute all manner of Villanies, than the Hopes of enjoying so rich a Prey now presented unto them.

The People being now set at Liberty, and prepossessed by their *Priests* with a Belief, that it was lawful for them to rise up and destroy all the *Protestants*, who, they told them, were worse than Dogs; that they were Devils, and served the Devil; assuring them the Killing of such was a meritorious Act, and a rare Preservative against the Pains of Purgatory, gathered themselves together in great Numbers, assembling in several Companies through the several Parts of the Northern Counties, with Staves, Sythes and Pitch-forks; for at first they had not many better Weapons: And so, in a most confused Manner, they began tumultuously to drive away at the first only the Cattle belonging to the *English*; and then to break into their Houses, and seize upon their Goods.

John Parry, of *Druermosh*, in the County of *Armagh*, deposeth, 'That *O Cullan*, a Priest, told his Auditors at Mass, that the Bodies of such as died in this Quarrel should not be cold, before their Souls should ascend up into Heaven, and that they should be free from the Pains of Purgatory'.

Margaret Bromley, in her Examination, deposeth, 'That some of the Rebels would say, after their cruel Butcheries, that they knew, if themselves should now die, their Souls should go to Heaven, and that they were glad of the Revenge they had taken of the *English*.'

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It is true, there were some Murders committed the very first Day of their Rising, and some Houses set on fire; but these, as I conceive, were for the most part out of private Spleen, or where they had particular Instructions so to do, as they had from the Lord *Mac-Guire*, to kill Master *Arthur Champion*, a Justice of the Peace in the County of *Fermanagh*; who, with several other of his Neighbours, were murdered at his own House upon the 23d of *October*, in the Morning.

But certainly, that which they mainly intended at first, and which they most busily employed themselves about, was the driving away the *Englishmen's* Cattle, and possessing their Goods: Wherein the common People were not the only Actors, but even the chief Gentlemen of the *Irish* in many Places most notoriously appeared, and, under plausible Pretences of securing their Goods from the Rapine and Spoil of the common Sort, got much peaceably into their Hands: And so confident were the *English* of their Good Dealing at first, as many delivered their Goods by retail unto them, gave them particular Inventories of all they had; nay, digged up such of their best Things as they had hidden under Ground, to deposite in their Custody. Much likewise they got by fair Promises and deep Engagements to do them no further Mischief, to suffer them, their Wives and Children, quietly to retire and leave the Country: But others, and especially the meaner Sort of People, fell more rudely to work, at the very first, breaking up of their Houses, and using all manner of Force and Violence, to make themselves Masters of their Goods.

And,

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And, having thus seized upon all their Goods and Cattle, ransacked their Houses, gotten their Persons under their Power ; the next thing they did was to strip Man, Woman and Child, many of them stark-naked, and so to turn them out of their own Doors, not permitting them, in some Places, so much as to shelter themselves under Bushes, or in the Woods ; and strictly prohibiting all the *Irish*, under great penalties, to give them Entertainment, or any kind of Relief, as they passed on upon the High-ways : And certainly their Design in this most notoriously appears to have been no other, than that all such, as they would not lay their Hands upon, and cruelly murder in cold Blood, might miserably perish of themselves through Cold, Nakedness and Want ; and therefore, as fast as any of them so stripped got old Rags to cover their Nakedness, they endeavoured to strip them again and again ; as may appear by the Examination of *John Gourley*, who deposeth, ‘ That
‘ some were stripped twice, some thrice ; as fast
‘ as they could get any old Rags to cover their
‘ Nakedness, the next *Irishwomen*, or even the
‘ Children that met them, would take them
‘ off.’ And he and his Wife further depose,
‘ That when their House, together with the
‘ Town of *Armagh*, were set on fire by the
‘ Rebels, she was stripped of her Clothes seven
‘ several times after she got off her Clothes ; at
‘ length they left her not so much as her Smock
‘ or Hair-lace, and that she got at to a Place and
‘ hid herself in a Hutch for three or four Days,
‘ and after went to find out her Children, two
‘ of which had the Small-pox visibly upon them.’
Jurat. Novemb. 8, 1642.

How

How infallibly this Course succeeded, and how surely they compassed their devilish Ends hereby, is but too well known; the *English* leaving sufficient Monuments in the High-ways as they passed, as well as in the Towns wherein they arrived, of the dismal Mortality it bred among them: And, for the fuller Satisfaction of any one who shall doubt thereof, I have thought fit to insert these two ensuing Examinations.

James Redferne, of the County of *London-derry*, deposeth, ' That, in the Town of *Coleraine*,
' since the Rebellion began, there died of robbed and stripped People, that fled thither for
' Succour, many hundreds, besides those of the
' Town who had antiently dwelt there; and that
' the Mortality there was such, and so great, as
' many thousands died there in two Days; and
' that the Living, though scarce able to do it,
' laid the Carcases of those dead Persons in great
' Ranks, into vast and wide Holes, laying them
' so close and thick, as if they had packed up
' Herrings together.'

Magdalen Redman, late of the *Dowris* in the *King's* County, Widow, being sworn and examined, deposeth and saith, ' That she, this
' Deponent, and divers other *Protestants* her
' Neighbours, and amongst the rest twenty two
' Widows, after they were all robbed, were also
' stripped stark-naked, and then they, covering
' themselves in a House with Straw, the Rebels
' then and there lighted the Straw with Fire, and
' threw amongst them, of purpose to burn them;
' where they had been burned or smothered,
' but that some of the Rebels, more pitiful than
' the rest, commanded these *cruel Rebels* to forbear,
' so as they escaped: Yet the Rebels kept
' and drove them naked into the wild Woods,
' from

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‘ from *Tuesday* until *Saturday*, in Frost and
‘ Snow, so as the Snow unmelted long lay upon
‘ some of their Skins, and some of their Children
‘ died in their Arms: And when, as this Depo-
‘ nent and the rest endeavoured to have gone a-
‘ way for Refuge to the *Burre*, the *cruel Rebels*
‘ turned them again, saying, they should go to-
‘ wards *Dublin*; and, when they endeavoured
‘ to go towards *Dublin*, they hindered them a-
‘ gain, and said, they should go to the *Burre*;
‘ and so tossed them too and fro: Yet at length,
‘ such of those poor stripped People, as died not
‘ before they got away out of the Hands of the
‘ Rebels, escaped to the *Burre*, where they were
‘ harboured and relieved by one *William Par-*
‘ *sons*, Esq; and yet there died at the *Burre* of
‘ those stripped Persons about forty, Men, Wo-
‘ men and Children. And this Deponent, and
‘ those other stripped People that survived, lived
‘ miserably at the *Burre* aforesaid, until they
‘ with the rest had Quarter to come from thence
‘ to *Dublin*.’

Jur. 7th March, 1642.

Job. Watson,
Will. Aldrich.

Isabel, the Relict of *Christopher Porter*, late of
Dowris in the *King's County*, sworn and examin-
ed, deposeth and saith, in all the Particulars above
mentioned, as *Magdalen Redman* before examined,
being her Neighbour.

Some

Some of the most notorious Cruelties, and barbarous Murders committed by the Irish Rebels, attested upon Oath, as they appear in several Examinations hereunto annexed.

WE may, in these poor Souls, as it were, in large Characters, behold the Miseries of all those Multitudes of Men, Women and Children, that were in all Parts of the Kingdom thus inhumanely stripped, and so exposed to the same Want, Cold and Nakedness. *The Mercies of the Wicked are cruel*; How bitter was their Compassion to all those *British* that thus suffered? How horrid, barbarous, and insupportable was the Commiseration they thus expressed towards them? Yet these were, as they told them at first, but the Beginnings of their Sorrows: For when the Northern Rebels began to find their own Strength, and that, partly by Treachery partly by Force, they had possessed themselves of all the chief Places of Strength in *Ulster*, disarmed the *English*, robbed them of their Goods and Cattle, stripped them of their Clothes, and had their Persons now under their Power, and all this without any considerable Resistance made by them; then they could contain themselves no longer, but in a most fierce, outrageous Manner, furiously broke out, acting, in all Places of that Province, with most abominable Cruelty, those horrid Massacres and execrable Murders, as would make any Christian Ear to tingle at the sad Commemoration of them: Then they began to appear in their own Colours, and with great Delight to satiate their antient implacable

cable Malice, in their long-wished and often-plotted Destruction of all the *British* Inhabitants.

Within the County of *Fermanagh* Multitudes were presently killed in cold Blood, some taken at the Plough, others as they sat peaceably in their own Houses, others travelling upon the Ways, all, without any manner of Provocation by them given, suddenly surprised and unexpectedly cut off.

At the Castle of *Lisgoole*, within that County, above 150 Men, Women and Children, were almost all consumed by Fire. *Thomas Wenslaw* and *John Simpson*, of the County of *Fermanagh*, Gentlemen, depose and say, ' That, in the Castle of *Lisgoole*, there were 152 Men, Women and Children, burnt, when the said Castle was set on fire, or smothered; not above two or three escaped. *Jurat. Jan. 12, 1641.*

At the Castle of *Moneah*, near 100 *British* were there slain all together: And the same bloody Company of Rebels were no sooner admitted into the Castle of *Tullab*, which was delivered up into the Hands of *Roury Mac-Guire*, upon Composition and faithful Promises of fair Quarter, but that, within the very Court, they began to strip the People, and most cruelly put them to the Sword, murdering them all without Mercy. *Thomas Wenslaw* further deposeth, ' That, at the Castle of *Moneah*, there were ninety *Protestants* more slain and murdered: And that, from the Castle of *Moneah*, the Rebels marched to the Castle of *Tullab*, where, by their own Confession, they promised those *Protestants* that were there fair Quarter: But, when they had delivered up their Arms and the Castle, those Rebels in the Bawne of the Castle first stripped them

‘ them all of their Cloaths, and then and there
 ‘ most cruelly murdered them.’

Richard Bourke, Batchelor in Divinity, of the County of *Fermanagh*, deposeth, ‘ That he heard and
 ‘ verily believeth, the burning and killing of one
 ‘ hundred at least in the Castle of *Tullab*, and
 ‘ that the same was done after fair Quarter promised.’ *Jurat. Jul. 12, 1643.*

At *Liffenskeab* they hanged, or otherwise killed, above 100 Persons, most of them of the *Scotish* Nation ; for, after once they had the *English* in their Power, they spared none of them, but used all the *Scots* with as much Cruelty as they did the *English*. This Country was very well planted by the *British* Undertakers, and all of them and their Tenants, in a very short Space, after a most horrible Manner, quite destroyed or utterly banished from their Habitations. In the Counties of *Armagh* and *Tyrone*, where the *British* were much more numerous, and *Sir Phelim O Neale* and his Brother, *Turlab O Neale*, the principal Actors, the Murders of the *British* were much more multiplied and committed with greater Cruelty, if it were possible, than in any other Places. ‘ *Rowry Mac-Guire*, upon the
 ‘ 24th of *Octob.* 1641, came with his Company
 ‘ unto *Liffenskeab*, and desired in a friendly Manner to speak with Master *Midleton*, who had
 ‘ the Keeping of the Castle. The first thing he
 ‘ did, as soon as he was entered therein, was to
 ‘ burn the Records of the County, whereof Master *Midleton* was the Keeper, being Clerk of
 ‘ the Peace, which he enforced him to deliver
 ‘ unto him ; as likewise one thousand Pounds
 ‘ he had in his Hands of *Sir William Balfoure’s* ;
 ‘ which as soon as he had, he compelled the said
 ‘ *Midleton* to hear Mass, swear never to alter
 ‘ from

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‘ from it, and immediately after caused him his
‘ Wife and his Children to be hanged up, and
‘ hanged and murdered one hundred Persons
‘ besides, at least, in that Town : These Particu-
‘ lars and several others, set down at large in a
‘ Relation sent me in by Sir *John Dunbarr*, Knt.
‘ one of the Justices of the Peace within the
‘ County of *Fermanagh*.’

There were one thousand, Men, Women and Children, carried out at several Times in several Troops, and all unmercifully drowned at the Bridge of *Portnedowne*, which was broken down in the midst, and so, driving and forcing them on, threw them into the River. This Number is deposed in Doctor *Maxwel*’s Examination, taken the 22d. of *Aug.* 1642.

And, as other Relations give it in, four thousand Persons were drowned within the several Parts of that County. This Number, of so many Persons drowned within the County of *Armagh*, is deposed by *Thomas Green* and *Elizabeth* his Wife, as appears by their Examinations, taken *Novemb.* 10, 1643.

The Rebels, in a most barbarous Manner, drove on many of those miserable stripped Christians unto the Place of their Sufferings like Swine ; and, if any were slack in their Pace, they sometimes pricked them forwards with their Swords and Pikes, often hastening on the rest, either by killing or wounding some of their Fellows in the Way. *William Clerke*, of the County of *Armagh*, Tanner, saith, ‘ That he,
‘ with 100 Men, Women and Children, or
‘ thereabouts, were, by the Rebels, driven like
‘ Hogs about six Miles, to a River called the
‘ *Band* ; in which Space the aforesaid *Christians*
‘ were most barbarously used, by forcing them
‘ to

‘ to go fast with Swords and Pikes, thrusting
 ‘ them into their Sides; and they murdered
 ‘ three by the way, and the rest they drove to
 ‘ the River aforesaid, and there forced them to go
 ‘ upon the Bridge, which was cut down, and,
 ‘ with their Pikes, and Swords, and other Wea-
 ‘ pons, thrust them down headlong into
 ‘ the said River, and immediately they pe-
 ‘ rished; and those who assayed to swim to the
 ‘ Shore, the Rebels stood and shot at.’ *Jurat.*
Jan. 7, 1641.

Mary, the Wife of *Ralph Corne*, deposeseth,
 ‘ That 180 *English* were taken by the *Irish*, and
 ‘ driven like Cattle from *Castle-Cumber* to *Atby*.’

Other Companies they carried out under pre-
 tence of giving them safe Conduct out of the
 Country, and so got them to go cheerfully on
 by virtue of Sir *Phelim O Neal*’s Pass, until they
 came at some Place fit for their Execution. *Eliza-
 beth*, the Wife of Captain *Rue Price*, of the Town
 and County of *Armagh*, deposeseth, ‘ That five of
 ‘ her Children, together with 110 other *Prote-
 ‘ stants*, out of the Parishes of *Armagh*, *Langaule*,
 ‘ and other Places, were sent away with Passes
 ‘ from Sir *Phelim O Neale*, with Promise to be
 ‘ safely conveyed over to their Friends in *Eng-
 ‘ land*. That their Conductor was Captain *Ma-
 ‘ nus O Cane* and his Soldiers, who, having
 ‘ brought or rather driven them, like Sheep or
 ‘ Beasts, to the Bridge of *Portnedowne*, there
 ‘ forced or threw all those poor Prisoners into
 ‘ the Water, together with the Deponent’s five
 ‘ Children, and then and there drowned most of
 ‘ them.’

And if they drowned them not, then they had
 some prepared to shoot or knock down with
 Poles any such as could swim, or used any other
 Means

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Means to escape out of the Water. ' And those
' who could swim and come to the Shore, they
' either knocked them on the Head, and so after
' drowned them, or else shot them to death in
' the Water.' *jurat. Jan. 29, 1641.*

Christian Stankaw, the Relict of *Henry Stan-*
haw, of the Parish of *Laugalle*, in the County of
Armagh, deposeth, ' That upon the drowning
' of 140 *Protestants* one time, at *Portnedowne-*
bridge, after they had thrown them in, some of
' them swimming to the Shore, the Rebels with
' their Muskets knocked out their Brains.' *jurat.*
July 23, 1642.

Amongst many other, a Gentlewoman, whose
Name was *Mistress Cambell*, being forcibly
brought by them to the River, and she, finding
no Means to escape their Fury, suddenly clasped
her Arms about one of the chief Rebels, that
was most forward to thrust her into the Water,
and, as I find it creditably related upon Oath,
carried him to the bottom with her, and so they
were both drowned together. *James Shaw*, of
Merket-hill in the County of *Armagh*, deposeth
the Manner of *Mistress Cambell's* pulling the Re-
bel into the Water, and how he was drowned
with her. *Jurat. Aug. 14, 1642.*

The Cathedral Church and Town of *Armagh*
were burnt, many Towns laid waste, all the fair
Plantations made by the *British* left desolate; in
some Parishes two hundred Families murdered
and destroyed, the whole County, as it were, a
common Butchery, and thorough all Parts of it
very many thousands perished in a short Time
by Sword, Famine, Fire, Water, and all other
cruel Deaths, that Rage and Malice could invent.
Captain Parkin deposeth ' That Sir *Phelim O*
' *Neale*, flying from *Dundalk*, went to *Armagh*,
' where he began his bloody Massacres, causing

L.

' *Mimus*

‘ *Manus O Cane* to get together all the *Pro-*
 ‘ *testants*, which were left thereabouts, to con-
 ‘ duct them to *Coleraine*; but, before they were
 ‘ scarce a Day’s Journey from him, they were
 ‘ all murdered, and so were several others by
 ‘ special Direction from Sir *Phelim O Neale*, and
 ‘ his Brother *Turlagh*, notwithstanding they were
 ‘ protected by them. All the aged People in
 ‘ *Armagh*, were, by the same Directions, car-
 ‘ ried away, but murdered also at *Carlmount*.
 ‘ And presently after, his Brother and he, with
 ‘ other Adherents, maliciously set on fire the
 ‘ Cathedral Church and Town of *Armagh*, and
 ‘ murdered and drowned there 500 Persons,
 ‘ young and old. At the Parish of *Killaman-*
 ‘ 48 Families were then murdered by Directions
 ‘ from Sir *Phelim*, who had remained protected
 ‘ by him three Quarters of a Year.’ *Jurat,*
 ‘ *March 8, 1643.*’

Jane Grace, the Wife of *Nicholas Grace*, late
 of *Kilmore*, in the County of *Armagh*, deposeth,
 ‘ That there were two and twenty *English Pro-*
 ‘ *testants* burned in one House within two Miles
 ‘ of *Kilmore*; and that the Rebels stripped, kill-
 ‘ ed, or murdered all, or the most of the *Eng-*
 ‘ *lish* of that Parish, which consisted of 200 Fa-
 ‘ milies. That they set many in the Stocks
 ‘ until they confessed their Money, and, when
 ‘ they could get no more, that they then mur-
 ‘ dered them.’

But before I leave this Subject, I shall pass a
 little further, and out of some Examinations,
 taken here upon Oath, which I have perused,
 present a brief Collection of some other horrid,
 inhumane Cruelties, which I find were used in
 the Murdering of many poor innocent Souls.
 To many, these bloody Villains shewed so much
 Favour as suddenly to dispatch them out of their
 Pain,

Pain, by no means allowing them Leave, or Time to make their Prayers; for others, they held a sudden Death too easy a Punishment: Therefore they imprisoned some in most beastly Dungeons, full of Dirt and Mire, and, there clapping Bolts on their Heels, suffered them to perish at Leisure; others they barbarously mangled, and left languishing upon the Highways, crying out but for so much Mercy as to be delivered out of their Pain. *Edward Saltinglass* of the County of *Armagh*, Gent. deposeth, ' That ' *George Lawlis*, a Rebel of the said County, ' resolving to kill *John Cowder*, told him he ' would kill him, but bid him first say his ' Prayers; whereupon the said *Cowder* kneeling ' down to pray, the said *Lawlis* instantly cut off ' his Head as he was upon his Knees.' *Jurat.*
June 1, 1642.

Elizabeth Price deposeth, ' That when as divers of the *English* were about to be murdered, ' and desired the Rebels on their Knees first to ' admit them to make their Prayers to God, the ' Rebels have often, in her, the Deponent's ' Hearing, in *Irish*, answered and said, *Bequeath* ' *your Soul to the Devil*; and at other Times ' the Rebels would say, *Why should you pray,* ' *your Soul is with the Devil already?* And with ' those Words in their Mouths would slaughter, ' and put them to death.' *Jurat. ut supra.*

Edward Bankes, of *Cassell*, in the County of *Tipperary*, Clerk, deposeth, ' That the Rebels ' there, on the first Day of *January*, killed ' fifteen Men and Women, all *English Protestants*, at *Cassell*; and that they entered and ' took the Town, and, having the same, that ' they took this Deponent and other Clergymen, ' and then and there forthwith caused them to ' be put into the Dungeon, where they conti-

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‘ nued twelve Weeks in most miserable Slavery.’

Jurat. April 21, 1642.

John Cregge, in the County of *Armagh*, Yeoman, deposeth, ‘ That, in the Parish of *Levinstown*, there were divers *Englishmen* cruelly murdered, some twice, some thrice hanged up, and others wounded and left half-dead, crying out lamentably for some to come and end their Miseries by killing of them.’ *Jurat. Jan. 7, 1741.*

Others they *buried alive*, a Manner of Death they used to several *British* in several Places. *William Parkinson*, of *Castle-Cumber* in the County of *Kilkenny*, Gent. deposeth, ‘ That, by the credible Report both of *English* and some *Irish*, who affirmed they were Eye-witnesses of a bloody Murder committed near *Kilfeale*, in the *Queen’s* County, upon an *Englishman*, his Wife, four or five Children, and a Maid. All which were hanged by the Command of *Sir Morgan Cavanah*, and *Robert Harpoole*, and afterwards put all in one Hole; the youngest Child, being not fully dead, put out the Hand, and crying Mammy! Mammy! when, without Mercy, they buried him alive.’ *Jurat. Feb. 11, 1642.*

Elizabeth Price deposeth, ‘ That *Thomas Mason*, an *English Protestant*, of *Laugall*, being extremely beaten and wounded, was carried away by his Wife and some others; for Revenge of which the Rebels most cruelly hacked, flayed and wounded them; and that done, dragged the said *Mason* unto an Hole, and then and there threw Earth, Stones and Rubbish upon him, and with the Weight thereof kept him under, so, as the said *Mason’s* Wife told this Deponent, he cried out
‘ and

‘ and languished, till his own Wife, to put him
‘ out of his Pain, rather than hear him cry still,
‘ tied her Handkerchief over his Mouth, and
‘ therewith stopped his Breath, so as he died.’
Jurat. June 29, 1641.

And at *Clownis*, within the County of *Fermanagh*, there were seventeen Persons, having been hanged till they were half-dead, cast together into a Pit, and, being covered over with a little Earth, lay pitifully, sending out most lamentable Groans for a good Time after. This Particular, concerning the seventeen Men buried alive at *Clownis*, was testified unto me by Mrs. *Aldrich*, who was then kept Prisoner in the Town by the Rebels, and heard their pitiful Cries.

Some were deadly wounded and so hanged up on Tenter-hooks. *William Parkinson*, late of *Castle-Cumber*, in the County of *Kilkenny*, deposeth, ‘ That he saw *Lewes O Brennan*, with
‘ his Sword drawn in the said Town, pursue
‘ after an *English* Boy of eight or nine Years of
‘ Age, or thereabouts, by Name *Richard Bernet*, into an House, and saw the said *Lewes*
‘ lead the said Boy forth of the House, the
‘ Blood running about his Ears, in a Hair-rope,
‘ and led the Boy to his Father’s Tenters, and
‘ there hanged him with *John Banks*, another
‘ little Boy.’ *Jurat. ut supra.*

Some had Ropes put about their Necks, and so drawn through the Water; some had Withes, and so drawn up and down through Woods and Bogs; others were hanged up, and taken down and hanged up again several Times, and all to make them confess their Money, which, as soon as they had told, they then dispatched them out of the Way. *Edward Saltingstone*, of the County of *Armagh*, Gent. deposeth,

' That *Martin O Kane*, *Bryan O Kelly*, *Shane O*
 ' *Neale*, *Neale Oge O Neale*, Gent. did take
 ' *William Blundel*, of *Grange*, in the County
 ' of *Armagh*, Yeoman, and put a Rope about
 ' his Neck, and threw him into the *Black-wa-*
 ' *ter* at *Charlemont*, and drew him up and down
 ' the Water to make him confess his Money,
 ' who thereupon gave him 21 *l.* yet within three
 ' Weeks after he, his Wife, and seven Children
 ' were drowned by the Rebels.' And further
 ' saith, ' That *Samuel Law*, of *Grenan*, in the
 ' Parish of *Armagh*, was, by the said *Neale Oge*
 ' *O Neale*, and others, brought to a Wood, and
 ' that then they there put a Withe about his Neck,
 ' and so drew him up and down by the Neck,
 ' until he was glad to promise them 10 *l.*' *Jurat.*
ut supra.

Margaret Fermery, in the County of *Ferma-*
nagh, deposeth, ' That the Rebels bound her
 ' and her Husband's Hands behind them, to
 ' them confess their Money, and dragged them
 ' up and down in a Rope, and cut his Throat
 ' in her own Sight with a Skain, having first
 ' knocked him down and stripped him; and
 ' that, being an aged Woman of 75 Years old,
 ' as she came up afterwards to *Dublin*, she was
 ' stripped by the *Irish* seven times in one Day;
 ' the Rebels bidding them go and look for their
 ' God, and bid him give them Cloaths.' *Jurat.*

Others were hanged up by the Arms, and
 with many Slashes and Cuts, they made the Ex-
 periment with their Swords how many Blows
 an *Englisman* would endure before he died.
Edward Wilson, of the County of *Monaughan*,
 deposeth, ' That, among other Cruelties used
 ' by the *Rebels* to the *English*, they hung up
 ' some by the Arms, and then hacked them with
 ' their Swords, to see how many Blows they
 ' could endure before they died.' *Jurat.*

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Some had their Bellies ripped up, and so left with their Guts running about their Heels. *Anne*, the Wife of *Mervin Madefly*, late of the City of *Kilkenny*, Gent. sworn and examined, deposeth, ' That some of the Rebels, in *Kilkenny* aforesaid, struck and beat a poor *Englishwoman* until she was forced into a Ditch, ' where she died; those *barbarous Rebels* having ' first ripped up her Child, of about six Years ' of Age, and let her Guts run about her Heels.' *Jurat.*

James Geare, of the County of *Monaghan*, deposeth, ' That the Rebels at *Clownis* murder- ' ed one *James Netterville*, Proctor to the Mini- ' ster there, who, although he was diversly ' wounded, his belly ripped up, and his En- ' trails taken out and lain above a Yard from ' him, yet he bled not at all, until they lifted ' him up and carried him away; at which, this ' Deponent being an Eye-witness, much won- ' dered; and thus barbarously they used him af- ' ter they had drawn him to go to Mass with ' them.' *Jurat. April 6, 1642.*

Owen Frankland, of the City of *Dublin*, de- ' poseth, ' That *Michael Garrahy* told this Depo- ' nent, ' That there was a *Scottish* Man, who, be- ' ing driven by the Rebels out of the *Newry*, ' and knocked on the Head by the *Irish*, reco- ' vered himself, and came again into the Town ' naked: Whereupon the Rebels carried him ' and his Wife out of the Town, cut him all to ' pieces, and with a Skain ripped his Wife's ' Belly, so as a Child dropped out of her Womb.' *Jurat. July 23, 1642.*

But this horrid Kind of Cruelty was princi- ' pally reserved by these inhuman Monsters for ' Women, whose Sex they neither pitied nor spa-

‘ That *Manus O Cane*, *Bryan O Kelly*, *Shane O Neile*, *Neile Oge O Neile*, Gent. did take *William Blundell*, of *Grange*, in the County of *Armagh*, Yeoman, and put a Rope about his Neck, and threw him into the *Black-water* at *Charlmount*, and drew him up and down the Water to make him confess his Money, who thereupon gave him 21 *l.* yet within three Weeks after he, his Wife, and seven Children were drowned by the Rebels.’ And further saith, ‘ That *Samuel Law*, of *Grenan*, in the Parish of *Armagh*, was, by the said *Neile Oge O Neile*, and others, brought to a Wood, and that then they there put a Withe about his Neck, and so drew him up and down by the Neck, until he was glad to promise them 10 *l.*’ *Jurat.*
ut supra.

Margaret Fermenty, in the County of *Fermanagh*, deposeth, ‘ That the Rebels bound her and her Husband’s Hands behind them, to them confess their Money, and dragged them up and down in a Rope, and cut his Throat in her own Sight with a Skain, having first knocked him down and stripped him; and that, being an aged Woman of 75 Years old, as she came up afterwards to *Dublin*, she was stripped by the *Irish* seven times in one Day; the Rebels bidding them go and look for their God, and bid him give them Cloaths.’ *Jurat.*

Others were hanged up by the Arms, and with many Slashes and Cuts, they made the Experiment with their Swords how many Blows an *Englishman* would endure before he died. *Edward Wilson*, of the County of *Monaughan*, deposeth, ‘ That, among other Cruelties used by the *Rebels* to the *English*, they hung up some by the Arms, and then hacked them with their Swords, to see how many Blows they could endure before they died.’ *Jurat.*

Some

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Some had their Bellies ripped up, and so left with their Guts running about their Heels. *Anne*, the Wife of *Mervin Madefly*, late of the City of *Kilkenny*, Gent. sworn and examined, deposeth, ' That some of the Rebels, in *Kilkenny* afore said, struck and beat a poor *English-woman* until she was forced into a Ditch, ' where she died; those *barbarous Rebels* having ' first ripped up her Child, of about six Years ' of Age, and let her Guts run about her Heels.' *Jurat.*

James Geare, of the County of *Monaugban*, deposeth, ' That the Rebels at *Clownis* murdered one *James Netterville*, Proctor to the Minister there, who, although he was diversly ' wounded, his belly ripped up, and his Entrails taken out and lain above a Yard from ' him, yet he bled not at all, until they lifted ' him up and carried him away; at which, this ' Deponent being an Eye-witness, much wondered; and thus barbarously they used him after they had drawn him to go to Mass with ' them.' *Jurat. April 6, 1642.*

Owen Frankland, of the City of *Dublin*, deposeth, ' That *Michael Garrahy* told this Deponent, ' That there was a *Scotish* Man, who, being driven by the Rebels out of the *Newry*, ' and knocked on the Head by the *Irish*, recovered himself, and came again into the Town ' naked: Whereupon the Rebels carried him ' and his Wife out of the Town, cut him all to ' pieces, and with a Skain ripped his Wive's ' Belly, so as a Child dropped out of her Womb.' *Jurat. July 23, 1642.*

But this horrid Kind of Cruelty was principally reserved by these inhuman Monsters for Women, whose Sex they neither pitied nor spared,

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red, hanging up several Women, many of them great with Child, whose Bellies they ripped up as they hung, and so let the little Infants fall out; a Course they ordinarily took with such as they found in that sad Condition. At *Ballimcolough*, within four Miles of the City of *Rosse*, in *April*, 1642, *John Stone* of the *Graige*, his Son, his two Sons-in-law, and his two Daughters, were hanged; one of his Daughters being great with Child, her belly was ripped up, her Child taken forth, and such barbarous, beastly Actions used to her, as are not fit to be mentioned.

And sometimes they gave their Children to Swine. *Philip Tayler*, late of *Portnedowne*, deposeth, ' That the Rebels killed a Dyer's Wife, ' of *Rosse-trever*, at the *Newry*, and ripped up ' her Belly, she being great with Child of two ' Children, and threw her and her Children into ' a Ditch; and that he, this Deponent, drove ' away Swine from eating one of the Children.' *Jurat.*

Some the Dogs eat. *John Montgomery*, of the County of *Monaghan*, sworn and examined, saith, ' That one *Brian Mac-Erony*, Ringleader ' of the Rebels in the County of *Fermanagh*, ' killed Ensign *Floyd*, *Robert Worknum*, and ' four of their Servants, one of which they ' having wounded, though not to Death, they ' buried quick. As also, that he was credibly ' informed, that the Daughter-in-law of one ' *Foard*, in the Parish of *Clownis*, being delivered of a Child in the Fields, the Rebels, ' who had formerly killed her Husband and ' Father, killed her and two of her Children, ' and suffered the Dogs to eat up and devour her ' new-born Child.' *Jurat. June 26, 1641.*

And

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And some, taken alive out of their Mother's Bellies, they cast into Ditches. *Katherine*, the Relict of *William Coke*, of the County of *Ardmagh*, Carpenter, deposeth, ' That the Rebels
' of the said County robbed, stripped, and
' murdered a great Company of *Protestants*,
' some by Burning, some by the Sword, some
' by Hanging, and the rest by Starving, and
' other Deaths. And this Deponent, to shun
' their Rage, and save her poor Life, hid her-
' self in a Ditch of Water, and sat there among
' high Rushes so long, as that she was almost
' frozen and starved to death, and then crawled
' away secretly.' And further saith, ' That
' some of the Rebels, that escaped and fled from
' the Battle of *Lisnagarnay*, meeting one Mrs.
' *Howard* and Mrs. *Frankland*, both great with
' Child, and six of their Children with them,
' those Rebels then and there with their Pikes
' killed and murdered them all; and after rap-
' ped open the Gentlewomen's Bellies, took
' out their Children, the one of them being
' quick, and threw them into a Ditch in the
' Sight of *Jane*, this Deponent's Daughter,
' who escaped because she spake *Irish*, and said
' she was an *Irishwoman*.' *Jurat. Feb. 24,*
1643.

And as for sucking Children, and others of a riper Age, some had their Brains knocked out. *James Stevenson*, Clerk of the County of *Letrim*, deposeth, ' That the Rebels there took
' *Isabel Stevenson*, a young Child, left at Foster-
' ing with one *Hugh Mac-Arran*, and enquiring
' whose Child it was, they told him it was a
' *Scotish* Man's Child; whereupon they took
' the Child by the Heels, and run and beat the
' Brains

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‘ Brains of it out against a Tree.’ *Jurat. April*²
20, 1643. *

Others were trampled under Foot to death. *Anne Hill*, Wife of *Arthur Hill*, in the County of *Caterlagh*, depofeth, ‘ That, as ſhe paſſed ‘ through the County of *Wicklœ*, *William* the ‘ Plaſterer, with nine or ten Rebels more, pull- ‘ ed off her Back a young Child, of one Year ‘ and a Quarter old, threw it on the Ground, ‘ trod on it ſo that it died, ſtripped herſelf and ‘ four ſmall Children, who, by the Cold they ‘ thereby got, ſince died.’ *Jurat.*

Some they cut in Gobbets and Pieces. *John Stubs*, of the County of *Longford*, Gent. de-
poſeth, ‘ That he heard, by ſome of the Sheriffs ‘ Men, that *Henry Mead* and his Wife, *John* ‘ *Bigel*, *William Stell*, and *Daniel Stubs*, the De-
ponent’s Brother, were put to death by *Lisagh* ‘ *Farrol*’s, and *Oli. Fitz-Gerrald*’s Men, who ‘ hanged them upon a Windmill, and, when ‘ they were half-dead, they cut them to pieces ‘ with their Skains.’ *Jurat. November 21,*
1641.

Eliz. Price depofeth, ‘ That a great Number ‘ of poor *Proteſtants*, eſpecially of Women and ‘ Children, they pricked and ſtabbed with their ‘ Skains, Pitch-forks and Swords, and would ‘ flaſh, mangle and cut them in their Heads, ‘ Breasts, Faces, Arms, and other Parts of the ‘ Body, but not kill them out-right, but leave ‘ them wallowing in their Blood, to languish, ‘ ſtarve, and pine to death : And whereas thoſe ‘ ſo mangled deſired them to kill them out of ‘ their Pain, they would deny it ; but ſome- ‘ times, after a Day or two, they would daſh ‘ out their Brains with Stones, or by ſome other ‘ cruel Way, which they accounted done as a
‘ Fa-

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‘ Favour, of which she hath in many Particulars
‘ been an Eye-witness.’ *Jurat. June 29,*
1641.

Others they ripped up alive. *William Parkinson*, of *Kilkenny*, Esq; deposeth, ‘ That the
‘ Wife of *John Harvey* told him, that she, being
‘ at *Kilkenny*, and having there turned to Mass
‘ to save her Life, was notwithstanding stripped
‘ again, together with her Children; and one
‘ *Purcell*, a Butcher, after he had stripped her
‘ Daughter, of five Years of Age, ripped up
‘ her Body till her Intrails fell out, whereof she
‘ died that Night; whereof she complaining to
‘ the Mayor of *Kilkenny*, he bid away with her
‘ and dispatch her; so as not only the Butcher,
‘ but many others did beat and wound her, so
‘ as she hardly escaped with her Life.’ *Jurat.*
ut supra.

Some were found in the Fields, sucking the
Breasts of their murdered Mothers: Others lay
stified in Vaults and Cellars. *Elizabeth Champion*,
late Wife of *Arthur Champion* in the County of
Fermanagh, Esq; deposeth, ‘ That, when the
‘ Castle of *Lisgoole* was set on fire by the Re-
‘ bels, a Woman, leaping out of a Window, to
‘ save herself from burning, was murdered by
‘ the Rebels; and next Morning her Child was
‘ found sucking her Breast, and also murdered
‘ by them.’ *Jurat. April 6, 1642.*

Charity Chappel, late Wife of *Richard Chappel*,
Esq; of the Town and County of *Armagh*, de-
poseth, ‘ That, as she hath credibly heard, the
‘ Rebels murdered great Numbers of *Protestants*,
‘ and that many Children were seen lying mur-
‘ dered in Vaults and Cellars, whither they
‘ fled to hide themselves.’ *Jurat. July 2,*
1642,

Thomas

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Thomas Fleetwood, late Curate of *Kilbeggan*, in the County of *Westmeath*, deposeth, ' That he hath
' heard, from the Mouth of the Rebels themselves, of great Cruelties acted by them : And,
' for one Instance, that they stabbed the Mother,
' one *Jane Addis*, by Name, and left her little
' sucking Child, not a Quarter old, by the dead
' Corps; and then they put the Breast of its
' dead Mother into its Mouth, and bid it suck
' *English* Bastard; and so left it there to perish.'
Jurat. March 22, 1642.

Others starved in Caves, crying out to their Mothers rather to send them out to be killed by the Rebels, than to suffer them to starve there. *Mary Barlow* deposeth, ' That her Husband, being by the Rebels hanged before her Face, she
' and six Children were stripped stark-naked,
' and turned out a begging in Frost and Snow;
' by Means whereof they were almost starved,
' having nothing to eat in three Weeks, while
' they lay in a Cave, but two old Calf-skins,
' which they beat with Stones, and so eat them
' hair and all; her Children crying out unto
' her, rather to go out and be killed by the Rebels than to starve there.' *Jurat.*

Multitudes of Men, Woman, and Children were found drowned, cast into Ditches, Bogs and Turfpits; the ordinary Sepultures of the *British* Nation. Thousands died of Cold and Want in all Parts of the Country, being neither permitted to depart, nor relieved where they were enforced to stay. *John Duffield*, of the County of *Armagh*, Gent. deposeth, ' That the Rebels wounded *John*
' *Ward* and *Richard Duffield*, so as they thereof
' died, and that their Wives and the said *John's*
' six Children, being all stripped, died of Want
' and Cold.' And further saith, ' That many
' thou-

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‘ thousands of *Protestants*, Men, Women, and
‘ Children, being stripped of their Cloaths, di-
‘ ed, also of Cold and Want in several Parts of
‘ the Country.’ *Jurat. Aug. 9, 1642.*

Multitudes enclosed in Houses, which being set on fire, they were there most miserably consumed. Some dragged out of their sick-beds to the Place of Execution. *Catherine Madefson*, of the County of *Fermanagh*, deposes, ‘ That they drew
‘ some, lying sick of Fevers, out of their Beds
‘ and hanged them; and that they drove be-
‘ fore them of Men, Women and Children,
‘ to the Number of sixteen, and drowned them
‘ in a boggy Pit, knocking such on the head
‘ with Poles as endeavoured to get out.

Jane, the Wife of *Gabriel Constable*, late of *Drumcad* in the County of *Armagh*, Gent. sworn and examined, saith, ‘ That her Husband and his Mother, about 88 Years old, and his Brother, being murdered by the Rebels, in the Parish of *Kilmore*, that a great Number of *Protestants* were, about *Candlemas*, 1641, by the Means and Instigation of *Joan Hamskin*, formerly a *Protestant*, but a meer *Irishwoman*, and lately turned to Mass, and of divers other her Assistants, forced and thrust into a thatched House, within the Parish of *Kilmore*, and then and there the *Protestants*, being almost naked, covered with Rags only, the same House was, by that bloody Woman and her barbarous Assistants, set on fire in several Parts thereof, the poor imprisoned Parties (who were by armed Parties kept there locked in) were miserably burned to death, and at length the House fell upon them; and the combustible Part of the House being consumed, before the Bodies of all those miserable Wretches were burned to ashes,
the

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the Bodies of many of them lay there in Holes to the great Terror of the Beholders that were *Protestants*; three only escaped out of an Hole of the House; and the rest, that attempted to escape the Flames, were then and there forced and thrown in again, and so burned to death.

Jurat. June 16, 1642.

Children enforced to carry their aged Parents to the Places designed for their Slaughter. *Thomas Green*, in the Parish of *Dumcres*, in the County of *Armagh*, Yeoman, and *Elizabeth* his Wife, sworn and examined, saith, 'That the Deponent, *Thomas Green*, hardly escaped away with his Life, but that the other Depo-
' nent and six Children were all left among the
' Rebels, and so stripped of their Cloaths, and
' hunger-starved, that five of the Children died;
' and she, this Deponent, being put to beg
' among the merciless Rebels, was at length
' rescued from them by the *Scottish* Army.' She further saith, 'That the Rebels did drown in
' a Bog 17 Men, Women and Children, at one
' time within the said Parish; and she is verily
' persuaded, that the Rebels, at several Times
' and Places within the County of *Armagh*,
' drowned above 4000 *Protestants*, enforcing
' the Sons and Daughters of those very aged
' People, who were not able to go themselves,
' to take them out of their Beds and Houses, and
' to carry them to Drowning, especially in the
' River of *Toll*, in the Parish of *Loghgall*.' *Jurat. Novemb. 10, 1643.*

Nay, some Children compelled most unnaturally to be the Executioners of their own Parents, Wives to help to hang their Husbands, Mothers to cast their own Children into the Water; and yet after these enforced Acts, which

no doubt were performed out of Hopes and Assurance to have their own Lives saved, always murdered. *John Rutledge* deposeth, 'That such
' were the barbarous and inhumane Cruelties
' of the Rebels, that sometimes they enforced
' the Wife to kill the Husband, the Son to kill
' the Father, and the Daughter to kill the Mother, and then they would hang or put to
' death the last Blood-shedder.' He further saith, 'That of his Knowledge the Rebels, in
' the Town of *Slego*, forced one *Lewes* the
' the younger, to kill his Father, and then hanged the Son: And in *Mogne*, in the County of
' *Mayo*, the Rebels forced one *Simon Leper's*
' Wife to kill her Husband, and then caused
' her Son to kill her, and then they hanged the
' Son.'

This was depofed in Master *Goldsmith's* Examination, which is set forth at large in the Page following.

Dennis Kelly, of the County of *Meth*, deposeth, 'That *Garret Tallon*, of *Cruisetown*, in the
' said County, Gent. as it is commonly reported, hired two Men to kill *Anne Hagely*,
' Wife to *Edw. Tallon* his Son, a *Papist*, and
' at that Time absent from Home; and the
' said two Men did in a most bloody Manner,
' with Skains, kill the said *Anne Hagely* and her
' Daughter, and her Daughter's two Children,
' because they would not consent to go to Mass,
' and after they would not permit them to be
' buried in a Church or Church-yard, but they
' four were buried in a Ditch.' *Jurat. Aug. 23,*
1643.

And such was the Malice and most detestable Hatred borne to the *English* by the *Irish*, as they taught their Children to kill *English* Children.

Anne

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Anne Read, the Relict of *Helcbiab Read*, of the County of *Letrem*, deposeth, ‘ That she, being
 ‘ stripped out of all she had, some of her Chil-
 ‘ dren died of Want and Famine; and that one
 ‘ of her Sons, called *Stephen Read*, being about
 ‘ six Years of Age, was, about the 10th of *Fe-*
 ‘ *bruary*, 1641, in the House of *James Gray*,
 ‘ of the County of *Cavan*, and going forth to
 ‘ play, there then gathered about him six *Irish*
 ‘ Children of that Town, who suddenly fell up-
 ‘ on him, and in such Manner, that, some with
 ‘ Sticks and some with Stones, they put out his
 ‘ Eyes and bruised his Body extremely; so that
 ‘ he, by Means of those Children, (which were
 ‘ none of them, as she is persuaded, above eight
 ‘ Years of Age) not long after died, and had
 ‘ been killed out-right in the Place, had not an
 ‘ *Englishwoman* come thither, who took up the
 ‘ dying Child from them, saying, She wondered
 ‘ they could find in their Hearts so to deal with
 ‘ a poor Child; but they answered, They would
 ‘ do as much for her, if they were able.’ *Jurat.*
July 12, 1642.

And the *Irishwomen* did naturally express as much Cruelty as the chiefest Rebels among them. *John Griffel*, of the *Queen’s* County, deposeth, ‘ That the Women and Children in
 ‘ those Parts were as cruel and forward as the
 ‘ Men Rebels, the Children, though young,
 ‘ being very bold in their Robberies, bidding
 ‘ this Deponent and the rest of the *English* be
 ‘ gone, or else they should be hanged.’

Elizabeth Baskerville deposeth, ‘ That she
 ‘ heard the Wife of *Florence Fitz-Patrick* find
 ‘ much Fault with her Husband’s Soldiers, be-
 ‘ cause they did not bring along with them the
 ‘ Grease of *Mistress Nicholson*, when they had
 ‘ slain,

‘ slain, for her to make Candles withal.’ *Jurat*
April 26, 1642.

Martha Culme depofeth, ‘ That ſhe heard
‘ ſome of the *Irish* themſelves deteſt the Cruelty
‘ of the Women who followed their Camp,
‘ and put them on in Cruelty, ſaying, Spare
‘ neither Man, Woman, nor Child.’ *Jurat.*

If theſe be not ſufficient, let us overlook the
particular Ends of ſome particular Perſons, and
we ſhall yet in them behold more horrid Cruel-
ties than theſe before mentioned.

What ſhall we ſay to a Child boiled to death
in a Cauldron. This Particular was depofed by
Margaret Parkin ;as alſo by *Elizabeth Burfell*,
who ſaith, ‘ That the Child was of twelve Years
‘ of Age, being the Child of *Thomas Straton* of
‘ *Newtown.*’ *Jurat. Jan. 19, 1641.*

A Woman hanged on a Tree, and in the Hair
of her Head her own Daughter hanged up with
her. ‘ The Wife of *Jonathan Linne* and his
‘ Daughter were ſeized upon by the Rebels,
‘ near the Town of *Carterlagh*, carried by them
‘ into a little Wood, called *Stapletowne-wood*,
‘ and there the Mother was hanged, and the
‘ Daughter hanged in the Hair of her Mother’s
‘ Head ;’ as is depofed by *James Shaw*, Vicar
‘ of *Old Laughſin*, *Jan. 8, 1643.*

A Woman miſerably rent and torn to peices.
Adam Clover depofeth, ‘ That he ſaw upon the
‘ Highway a Woman left by the Rebels, ſtrip-
‘ ped to her Smock, ſet upon by three Women
‘ and ſome Children, being *Irish*, who miſera-
‘ bly rent and tore the ſaid poor *Engliſhwoman*,
‘ and ſtripped off her Smock in a bitter Froſt
‘ and Snow, ſo that ſhe fell in Labour in their
‘ Hands, and both ſhe and her Child died
‘ there.’ *Jurat. Jan. 4, 1641.*

Some taken by the Rebels, their Eyes plucked out, their Hands cut off, and so turned out to wander up and down. This Crelty was used to some *English*, in the Province of *Conaught*, as was testified by the Lords Justices and Council, as doth appear by their Letters.

Others stoned to death. *Thomas Fleetwood*, Curate of *Kilbeggan*, in the County of *Westmeath*, deposeth, 'That, the Lord President of *Conaught* caused an *Englishwoman*, who could 'speak *Irish*, to go toward *Dublin* with a Letter; 'but she was taken within five Miles of the Town 'of *Atblone*, brought back and stoned to death 'by the Women of the Town, dwelling on the 'hither side of the Bridge.' *Jurat.*

James, of *Hackets-town*, in the County of *Carterlagh* deposeth, 'That at *Irish* Gentlewoman 'told him and others, 'That she turned an 'English-Woman away, who was her Servant, 'and had a Child, and that, before the poor 'Woman and Child were gone half a Mile, 'divers *Irish* Women slew them with Stones.' *Jurat. April 21, 1643.*

A Man wounded and set upright in an Hole digged in the Earth, and, so covered up to the very Chin, there left in that miserable Manner to perish. *John Clerk*, of *Knockback*, Gent. deposeth, 'That he heard credibly from Master 'Lightbourne, Minister of the *Naas*, that the 'Rebels shot a Parish-clerk, near *Kildare*, 'through both his Thighs, and afterwards digged a deep Hole in the Ground, wherein they 'set him upright on his Feet, and filled up 'the Hole in the Earth, leaving out only his 'Head, in which State and Posture they left 'the poor wounded Man, till he pined, languished, and so died.' *Jurat. Octob. 24, 1643.*

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A Man's Feet held in the Fire till he was burnt to death, his Wife hanged at his Door. *Katherine*, the Relict of *William Coke*, of the County of *Armagh*, deposeth, ' That many of her ' Neighbours, who had been Prisoners among ' the Rebels, said and affirmed, that divers of ' the Rebels would confess, brag, and boast, ' how they took an *English Protestant*, one *Robert Wilkinson*, at *Kilmore*, and held his Feet in ' the Fire until they burned him to death : And ' the same *Robert Wilkinson*'s own Son was present, and a Prisoner when that Cruelty was exercised on his Father.' *Jurat. February 24, 1643.*

A Minister stripped stark-naked, and so driven like a Beast through the Town of *Cashal*, the Rebels following and pricking him forward with Darts and Rapiers. " At *Cashal* in *Munster*, besides many Ministers, which they there hanged after a most barbarous Manner, they stripped one naked, and drove him through the Town, pricking him forwards with Darts and Rapiers, and so pursuing him till he fell down dead." *Jurat. ut supra.*

A Company of Men, Women and Children put into an House, and as they were burning, some Children, that made an Escape out of the Flames, were taken by some of the Rebels who stood by, cut them in pieces with Sythes, and so cast them into the Fire again. *Christian Stanbaw*, the Relict of *Henry Stanbaw*, late of the County of *Armagh*, Esq; deposeth, " That a Woman, that formerly lived near *Laugale*, absolutely informed this Deponent, that the Rebels enforced a great Number of *Protestants*, Men, Women and Children, in to an House, which they set on fire purposely to burn them, as

they did, and still, as any of them offered to come out, to shun the Fire, the wicked Rebels with Sythes, which they had in their Hands, cut them in Pieces, and cast them into the Fire and burned them with the rest." *Jurat. July 23, 1642.*

Neither did these horrible Tortures, which they put these poor innocent *Christians* unto, slack their Fury; their Malice towards them did not determine with their Breath: But, after so many several bloody Ways and cruel Inventions, wherewith they rent their Souls from their wretched Bodies, even to their dead Carcasses, in some Places, they denied all Manner of Burial. *Adam Clover*, of the County of *Cavan*, deposeth, "That he observed 30 Persons to be most barbarously murdered, and about 150 more cruelly wounded, so that Traces of Blood, issuing from them, lay upon the Highway for twelve Miles together; and many very young Children were left and perished by the Way, to the Number of sixty, or thereabouts; because the Cruelties of the Rebels were such, that their Parents and Friends could not carry them further." And further saith, "That some of the Rebels vowed, that if any digged Graves, wherein to bury the dead Children, they should be buried therein themselves; so the poor People left most of them unburied, exposed to ravenous Beasts and Fowls." *Jurat. January 4, 1641.*

Some they cast into Ditches. *Edward Salinstale* deposeth, "That the Rebels killed *William Loverden* when he was naked, his Wife and Children looking on, and cutting off his Head, held it up to his Wife and Children; and, his sorrowful Wife taking his Corps and burying of it in a Garden, *Patrick O Dally*, a Rebel, taking it up, threw it into a Ditch." *Jurat. ut supra.*

Others

Others they left to be devoured by Dogs and Swine. *Thomas Green*, and *Elizabeth* his Wife, depose, " That the Rebels at several Times murdered, killed and destroyed the most part of the *Protestants* in the Parish of *Jumcres*, being about 300 ; and indeed most of the *Protestants* in all the Country therabouts did they kill and destroy, by Drowning, Hanging, Burning, the Sword, Starving and other Deaths, exposing their slaughtered Bodies to be devoured by Dogs, Swine and other ravenous Creatures. And this Deponent, *Elizabeth*, saw the Dogs feed upon those dead Carcasses." *Jurat. Nov. 10, 1643.*

Others by Fowls and ravenous Birds ; nay, several, which had been formerly buried, they digged up and left them to putrify above Ground. *Richard Bourke*, Batchelor of Divinity, deposeth, ' That he was informed, that ' *Master Lodge*, Archdeacon of *Killalow*, being ' buried about six Years since, and divers other ' Ministers Bones were digged out of their ' Graves, as Patrons of Heresy, by Direction ' of the titular Bishop of *Killalow*, and *Robert Jones*, a Minister, was not admitted Christian Burial, by Direction of some *Papish* Priests. *Jurat. July 12, 1643.*

David Buck deposeth, ' That in the Parish of ' *Munrath*, in the *Queen's* County, the Rebels ' digged up a Number of *Englishmen's* Graves, ' and left the Corps above Ground to be abused ' by Dogs, Hogs, or any other ravenous Creatures.'

And these truly are but some of those Ways, among many others, which, with most exquisite Pains and cruel Tortures, were used by these merciless Rebels, to let in Death among an

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innocent, unprovoking, unresisting People, that had always lived peaceably with them, administering all manner of Helps and Comforts to those who were in Distress, that made no Difference betwixt them, and those of their own Nation; but ever cherished them as Friends, and loving Neighbours, without giving any Cause of Unkindness or Distaste unto them. *Arthur Agmoughty* deposeth, ' That during the Siege of *Castle-Forbez*, the Rebels killed poor Children ' that went out to eat Weeds and Grass; and ' that a poor Woman, whose Husband was taken by the Rebels, went to them with two ' Children at her Feet, and one at her breast, ' hoping to beg her Husband's Life; but they ' slew her and her sucking Child, broke the ' Neck of another of her Children, and the ' third hardly escaped.' *Jurat. Sept. 23, 1643.*

Master Creighton deposeth in his Examination, ' That sometimes the Chief of the *Irish* would ' make heavy Moan, for the Evils they perceived ' were coming on their Country and Kindred, ' and said, They saw utter Destruction at Hand, ' for that they had covered so great a Bitterness ' so long in their Hearts against the *English*, ' and now so suddenly broken out against them, ' that had brought them up, kept them in their ' Houses like Children, and had made no Difference between them, their *English* Friends ' and Kindred, by all which the *English* had so ' well deserved of them, and they had requited ' them so evil, that the *English* would never ' trust them hereafter; and now it remaineth, ' that either they must destroy the *English*, or ' the *English* them.' *Jurat. ut supra.*

It is not possible to recollect or express the Wickedness of their mischievous Inventions, or
Horror,

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Horror of their bloody Executions, actuated with all kind of Circumstances that might aggravate the Height of their Cruelty towards them.

Alas! who can comprehend the Fears, Terrors, Anguish, Bitterness and Perplexity of their Souls, the despairing Passions and Consternations of their Minds! What strange amazed Thoughts must it needs raise in their sad Hearts, to find themselves so suddenly surpris'd without Remedy, and inextricably wrapped up in all kind of outward Miseries, which could possibly by Man be inflicted upon any human Creatures! What Sighs, Groans, Trembling, Astonishment! What Shrieks, Cries, and bitter Lamentations of Wives and Children, Friends and Servants, howling and weeping about them, all finding themselves without any manner of Hope of Deliverance from their present Misery and Pain! How inexorable were their barbarous Tormentors, that compass'd them on every Side without all Bowels of Compassion, any Sense of their Sufferings, or the least Commiseration and Pity, the common Comforters of Men in Misery.

It was no small Addition to their Sorrows, to hear the base, reviling Speeches used against their Country and Countrymen; some loudly threatening all should be cut off and utterly destroyed, that had one Drop of *English* Blood in them; the *Irishwomen* crying out to spare neither Man, Woman, nor Child that was *English*; that the *English* was Meat for Dogs, and their Children Bastards. *Jane*, the Relict of *Gabriel Constable*, deposeth, ' That the Rebels, having ' half-killed one *Ellen Millington*, and then put ' her into a dry Hole made for a Well, and ' made her fast in with Stones, whereof she

‘ languished and died, the Rebels bragged how
 ‘ many of them went to see her kick and tofs in
 ‘ the Hole, her Husband being formerly mur-
 ‘ dered by the Rebels.’ *Jurat. ut supra.*

Francis Barbour, of *Dublin*, Gent. deposeth,
 ‘ That, at the Beginning of the Rebellion, he
 ‘ heard several of the Rebels publicly say, That
 ‘ now the Day was their own, and that they had
 ‘ been Slaves to the *English* a long Time; but
 ‘ that now they would be revenged to the full,
 ‘ and would not leave, before *Christmas* Day,
 ‘ an *English Protestant* Rogue living; with other
 ‘ like bitter Words.’ *Jurat. Jan. 5, 1643.*

Elizabeth, the Wife of *Thomas Green*, depo-
 seth, ‘ That she heard the Rebels say, the *Eng-
 ‘ lish* were Meat for Dogs, that there should not
 ‘ be one Drop of *English* Blood left within the
 ‘ Kingdom, and that they would destroy all,
 ‘ the very *English* Children, whom they called
 ‘ Bastards.’ *Jurat. Novemb. 10, 1643.*

Richard Cleybrook deposeth, ‘ That he heard
 ‘ *Luke Toole* say, that they would not leave an
 ‘ *Englishman*, or *Englishwoman* in the Kingdom,
 ‘ that they would not leave an *English* Beast alive,
 ‘ or any of the Breed of them.’ *Jurat.*

Samuel Man, of the County of *Fermanagh*,
 Gent. deposeth, ‘ That he heard some of the
 ‘ *Irish* say, that there should not be one *English-
 ‘ man*, Woman, or Child left in the Kingdom.’
Jurat.

Elizabeth Dickinson deposeth, ‘ That she heard
 ‘ some of the Company of *Roury Mac-Guire* say,
 ‘ that the *Irish* had Command to leave never a
 ‘ Drop of *English* Blood in *Ireland*.’ *Jurat. No-
 ‘ vemb. 17, 1642.*

Katherine Madeson of the County of *Fermanagh*
 deposeth, ‘ That she hath often heard the Re-
 ‘ bels

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‘bels say, that they would drive all the *English*
‘and *Scotish* out of that Kingdom, and that both
‘Man, Woman and Child should be cut off and
‘destroyed.’ *Jurat. Novemb. 17, 1642.*

How grievous and insupportable must it
needs be to a true Christian Soul, to hear a base
Villain boast, that his Hands were so weary with
killing and knocking down *Protestants* into a
Bog, that he could not lift his Arms up to his
Head. *Eleanor Fullerton*, the Relict of *Will.*
Fullerton, late Parson of *Lougall*, deposeth,
‘That in *Lent*, 1641, a young roguing Cow-
‘boy gave out and affirmed, in this Deponent’s
‘Hearing, that his Hands were so weary in
‘killing and knocking down *Protestants* into a
‘Bog-pit, that he could hardly lift his Arms to
‘his Head.’ *Jurat. Septemb. 16, 1642.*

Owen Frankland deposeth, ‘That he heard
‘*Hugh O Cane*, late Servant to Mistrifs *Stan-*
‘*baw*, calling to his Fellows, in a boasting
‘Manner, asking them, what they had been
‘doing at Home all the Day, that he had been
‘Abroad and had killed sixteen of the Rogues?
‘And shewed them some Money.’ *Jurat. ut*
supra.

Or others to say, that they had killed so many
Englishmen, that the Grease or Fat, which re-
mained on their Swords or Skains, might have
made an *Irish* Candle. *Elizabeth Champion*, late
Wife of *Arthur Champion*, in the County of
Fermanagh, Esq; saith, ‘That she heard the
‘Rebels say, that they had killed so many *En-*
‘*glishmen*, that the Grease or Fat, which re-
‘mained upon their Swords and Skains, might
‘well serve to make an *Irish* Candle.’ *Jurat.*
April 14, 1642.

Or

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Or to consider, that two young Cow-boys should have it in their Power to murder 36 *Protestants*. *John Birne*, late of *Dongannon*, in the County of *Tyrone*, deposeth, ' That he heard ' some of the native *Irish*, that were somewhat ' more merciful than the rest, complain, that ' two young Cow-boys, within the Parish of ' *Tullah*, had at several Times murdered and ' drowned 36 Women and Children.' *Jurat.* Jan. 12, 1643.

Whosoever shall seriously weigh these Particulars will not much wonder, that so great Numbers of *British* and *Protestants* should be destroyed in so short a Time, after the first Breaking-out of the Rebellion, as Master *Cunningham* deposeth in his Examination: He there saith, ' That the Account of the Persons killed ' by the Rebels, from the Time of the Beginning ' of the Rebellion, *Octob.* 23, 1641, unto the ' Month of *April* following, was, as the Priests ' weekly gave it in, in their several Parishes, ' one hundred and five thousand.' *Jurat.* April 22, 1641.

James Shaw, a Minister, deposeth, ' That, ' after the Cessation made with the *Irish*, divers ' of them confessed, the Priests had given them ' the Sacrament, upon Condition they should ' not spare Man, Woman or Child that were ' *Protestants*; and that he heard divers of them ' say, in a bragging Manner, That it did them ' much good to wash their Hands in the Blood ' of the *Protestants* which they had slain.' *Jurat.* Jan. 7, 1643.

When the Castle of *Lisgoole* was set on fire by the Rebels, and so many *British* as are before-mentioned consumed in the Flames, those mischievous Villains, that had done that wicked

ed Fact, cried out with much Joy, *How sweetly do they fry!* *Elizabeth Champin* deposeth, ' That, ' when the Rebels had set the Castle of *Lisgoole* ' on fire, upon the *Protestants* there enclosed, ' and saw the said House so burning, they said ' among themselves rejoicingly, *Oh how sweetly do they fry!* ' *Jurat. ut supra.*

How did the Inhabitants of *Kilkenny* (a City planted with old *English*, where Civility and Good-manners seemed to flourish) solace and please themselves in abusing most unchristianly the Heads of a Minister and six other *Protestants*, brought in a kind of Triumph into that Town. *William Lucas*, of the City of *Kilkenny*, deposeth, " That, although he lived in the Town till about five or six Weeks past, in which Time he is assured divers Murders and cruel Acts were committed, yet he durst not go abroad to see any of them: But he doth confidently believe, that the Rebels, having brought seven *Protestants* Heads, whereof one was the Head of Master *Bingham*, a Minister, they did then and there, as Triumphs of their Victory, set them upon the Market-Cross on a Market-Day, and that the Rebels slashed, stabbed and mangled those Heads; put a Gag or Carret in the said Master *Bingham's* Mouth, slit up his Cheeks to his Ears, laying a Leaf of a Bible before him, and bid him preach, for his Mouth was wide enough; and, after they had so solaced themselves, threw those Heads into an Hole in Saint *James's* Green." *Jurat. Aug. 16, 1643.*

Certainly it is not to be imagined, much less expressed, with what Scorn and Derision they acted their great Cruelties upon all *British*, which they had gotten into their Power; with what Joy and Exultation their Eyes did behold the

the sad Spectacle of their Miseries, what greedy Delight and Pleasure they took in their bloody Executions ; what Malice and Hatred they expressed towards them, many with the last Stroke of Death giving them in their last Agony that fearful Valediction, in *Irish, Anim a duel*, Thy Soul to the Devil. *Julian Jonson*, the Relict of *John Jonson*, of the County of *Galloway*, deposeth, ' That, after the Slaughter of some *English*, she ' heard one *O Moloy*, a Frier, say, in a triumph- ' ing Manner, It was a brave Sport, to see the ' young Men (meaning some of the *English* ' then slain) defending themselves on every side, ' and their two Eyes burning in their Heads. ' And further, that she heard some of the cruel ' Soldiers then and there brag and boast of the ' brave Sport they had, by putting fire to the ' Straw which a stripped *Englishwoman* had tied ' about her, saying, How bravely the Fire then ' made the *English* Jade to dance.' *Jurat. Feb. 8,* 1643.

Joan Constable, the Relict of *Gabriel Constable*, deposeth, ' That the Out-cries, Lamenta- ' tions and Speeches of the poor *Protestants*, ' burned in a thatched House in the Parish of ' *Kilmore*, in the County of *Armagh*, were ex- ' ceeding loud and pitiful, yet did nothing pre- ' vail to mollify the hardened Hearts of their ' Murderers ; but they most boldly made Brags ' thereof and took Pride and Glory in imitating ' their Cries, and in telling the Deponent and ' others, how the Children gaped when the ' Fire began to burn them ; and threatened and ' told her, this Deponent, that, before it was ' long, she and the rest of the *Protestants* should ' suffer the like Deaths.' And further saith, ' That the Rebels, within the County of *Armagh*, ' did

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‘ did act and commit divers bloody and barbarous Cruelties (betwixt the Time of the beginning of the Rebellion and her Escape from Imprisonment out of the said County) by Burning, Drowning, Hanging, the Sword, Starving, and other fearful Deaths: That they did drown at one Time betwixt *Tinon* and *Kinard*, sixty *British*, Women and Children, their respective Husbands and Fathers, all their male Friends that were Men were murdered before And that they did in the same Water, at another Time, drown one Mistress *Maxwell*, the Wife of Master *James Maxwell*, when she was in Labour, and so forward therein, as some of those bloody Actors told and bragged to her, this Deponent, that the very Child’s Arm appeared and waved in the Water, the Child being half-born when the Mother was drowned.’ *jurat. ut supra.*

Henry Brinkhurst, of the County of *Mayo*, deposeseth, “ That, after the Massacre of *Sbireul*, one of the Rebels, that had acted his Part there, came into a House with his Hands and Cloaths all bloody, saying, It was *English* Blood; that he hoped to have more of it, and that his Skain had pincked the clean white Skins of many at *Sbireul*, even to the Hilt thereof; and that amongst others, it had been in the Body of a fair-complexioned Man, whose Name was *Jones*. At which Time of his Discourse, the Wife of the said *Jones*, with four of her small Children, sat by and durst not cry out; but, striving to suppress her extream Grief, fell into a Swoon, and was conveyed out of the Room for fear he should have done the like by her and her poor Children.” *Henry Brinkhurst, jurat. Mar. 11, 1643.*
This

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This Particular deposed in the Examination of Dr. *Maxwell*, and Mrs. *Price*.

But it is no Wonder that they carried themselves after this barbarous Manner to these poor innocent Christians, when they spared not most fearfully to belch out their Rage against their Maker. What open hellish Blasphemies were uttered by these wicked Miscreants? With what Indignation and Reproach did they tear, trample under their Feet the sacred Word of God? How despightfully did they upbraid the Profession of the Truth to those blessed Souls, whom neither by Threats nor Terrors, Pains or Torments, they could draw to forsake their Religion? *Margaret Stokes*, the Wife of *Hugh Stokes*, duly sworn and examined, deposeth, *inter alia*, "That, when the Rebels or any of them had killed an *Englishman* in the Country, many others of them would come one after another, and every of them in a most cruel Manner stab, wound and cut him, and almost mangle him; and, to shew their further Malice, would not suffer or permit any to bury them, but would have them to lie naked, for the Dogs, Beasts, and Fowls of the Air to devour them." And further saith, "When they had so killed the *English*, they would reckon up and account the Number of them, and a in rejoicing and boasting Manner, would say, That they had made the Devil beholding to them, in sending so many Souls to him to Hell." *Jurat. coram* Sir Gerard Lowther.

Edward Deane, of *Ocram*, in the County of *Wickloe*, Tanner, deposeth, "That the *Irish* Rebels made Proclamation, that all *English* Men and Women, that did not depart the Country within 24 Hours, should be hanged, drawn and quartered, and that the *Irish* Houses, that kept any of the *English* Children, should be burned."

And

And further saith, "That the said Rebels burnt two Protestant Bibles, and then said, That it was Hell fire that burnt." *Jurat. Jan. 7, 1641.*

John Kerdiffé, Clerk, of the County of *Tyrone*, deposeth, *inter alia*, "That *Friar Malone*, of *Skerries*, did take the poor Men's Bibles which he found in the Boat, and cut them in Pieces, and cast them into the Fire, with these Words, That he would deal in like manner with all Protestant and Puritan Bibles." *Jurat, Feb. 28, 1641.*

Henry Fisher, of *Powerscourt*, in the County of *Wickloe*, deposeth, "That the Rebels entered the Parish Church at *Powerscourt*, and burnt up the Pews, Pulpits, Chests and Bibles belonging to the said Church, with extream Violence and Triumph, and expressing of Hatred to Religion." *Jurat. Jan. 25, 1641.*

Adam Clover, of *Slonossie*, in the County of *Cavan*, duly sworn, deposeth, "That *James O'Rely*, *Hugh Brady*, and other Rebels, did often take into their Hands the Protestant Bibles, and, wetting them in the dirty Water, did five or six several times dash the same on the Face of this Deponent and other Protestants, saying, Come, I know you love a good Lesson, here is an excellent one for you; come to-morrow, and you shall have as good a Sermon as this; and used other scornful and disgraceful Words unto them." And further saith, "That, dragging divers Protestants by the Hair of the Head, and in other cruel Manner into the Church, there stripped, robbed, whipped, and most cruelly used them, saying, If you come to-morrow you shall hear the like Sermon." *Jurat. Jan. 4, 1641.*

Edward Slacke, of *Gusteen*, in the County of *Fermanagh*, Clerk, deposeth, "That the Rebels there

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there took his Bible, opened it, and, laying the open Side in a Puddle of Water, leaped and trampled upon it, saying, A Plague on it, this Bible hath bred all the Quarrel; and that he hoped within few Weeks all the Bibles in *Ireland* should be used as that was, or worse, and that none should be left in the Kingdom." *Jurat.* Jan. 4, 1641.

But I shall not here touch any farther upon those who died thus gloriously; this will be a worthy Work for some more able Pen to undertake, and indeed fit for a Martyrology. If we shall take a Survey of the primitive Times, and look into the Sufferings of the first *Christians*, that suffered under the Tyranny and cruel Persecutions of those heathenish Emperors, we shall not certainly find any one Kingdom; though of a far larger Continent, where more *Christians* suffered, or more unparalleled Cruelties were acted in many Years upon them, than were in *Ireland*, within the Space of the first two Months, after the Breaking-out of this Rebellion. And howsoever some, by outward Infections and Tortures, were drawn to profess the Change of their Religion, and had presently their Reward; for many of those they suddenly dispatched with great Scorn, saying, it was fit to send them out of the World in that good Mood; yet, I dare say, we shall find many thus cruelly put to death, equal to some of those antient Worthies for their Patience, Constancy, Courage, Magnanimity in their Sufferings, not accepting Deliverance, but triumphing and insulting with their last Breath over the Insolency, Rage, and Malice of their most inhuman and cruel Persecutors. *Alexander Creighton*, of *Glaslough*, in the County of *Monaghan*, Gent. deposeth,

poseth, ' That he heard it credibly reported among the Rebels aforesaid, at *Glassough*, that *Hugh Mac O Degan*, a Priest, had done a most meritorious Act, in drawing betwixt forty and fifty *English* and *Scotish*, in the Parish of *Ganalleigh*, in the County of *Fermanagh*, to Reconciliation with the Church of *Rome*, and, after giving them the Sacrament, demanded of them, Whether *Christ's* Body was really in the Sacrament, or no? And they said, Yea: And that he demanded of them further, Whether they held the *Pope* to be supreme Head of the Church? They likewise answered, He was: And that thereupon he presently told them, they were in a good Faith; and, for fear they should fall from it, and turn Heretics, he, and the rest that were with them, cut all their Throats.' *Jurat.*
March 1, 1641.

John Glasfe, of *Montwrath*, in the *Queen's* County, sworn and examined, saith, " That *Florence Fitz-Patrick*, of the said County, Esq; having received Master *John Nicholson*, and his Wife *Anne Nicholson* under his Protection, did endeavour all he could to turn them to Mass or the present Rebellion; but they both professed, That, rather than they would either forsake their Religion, or fight against their Countrymen, they would die the Death; the Husband professing how much they abhorred it, and his Wife even shewing greater Resolution: They would have had her burnt her Bible, but her Answer was, Before she would either burn her Bible, or turn against her Countrymen, she would die upon the Point of the Sword; which was made good by them; for on a *Sabbath-day* in the Morning, before Mass, they were cruelly butchered

ered and murdered, by the Command of the said *Florence Fitz-Patrick*. The Instrument that acted the Villainy was one *John Harding*, who since hath been, beyond all Expression, tormented in his Conscience, and with continued Apparitions of them, as he conceived, in such lively Manner as he murdered them; so as he is even now consumed away with the Horror of it, as is most frequently reported among the Rebels." *Jurat. April 8, 1642.*

We shall find in the *Roman Story*; during the several cruel Contestations betwixt *Marius* and *Scilla*, when their factious Followers filled the whole City of *Rome* with Streams of Blood, strange and most incomparable Passages of Friendship; one exposing himself to all manner of Dangers, for the Preservation of his Friend of a contrary Faction; Servants willingly sacrificing themselves to save the Lives of their beloved Masters. But here, on the contrary, what open Violation of all Bands of Humanity and Friendship! No Contracts, no Promises observed; Quarter, given in the most solemn Manner, with the greatest Oaths and severest Execrations under Hand and Seal, suddenly broken. The *Irish* Landlords making a Prey of their *English* Tenants; the *Irish* Servants betraying their *English* Masters; and every one esteeming any Act, wherein they could declare their Hatred and Malice most against any of the *British* Nation, as gallant and truly meritorious. It is not to be denied, but that the first and most bloody Executions were made in the Province of *Ulster*, and there they continued longest to execute their Rage and Cruelty; yet must it also be acknowledged, that all the other three Provinces did concur with them, as it were with one common

mon Consent, to destroy and pluck up by the Roots all the *British* planted throughout the Kingdom. And for this Purpose they went on, not only murdering, stripping, and driving out all of them, Men, Women, and Children, but they laid waste their Habitations, burnt their Evidences, defaced in many Places all the Monuments of Civility and Devotion, the Courts and Places of the *English* Government; nay, as some of themselves express it, they resolved not to leave them either Name or Posterity in *Ireland*.

How they proceeded on in this Work, or how far they co-operated each with other, will be a Task of a large Size, and more proper for another Place in this Story; I shall here conclude this Discourse, concerning the Cruelties exercised upon the *British* and *Protestants*, with these following Examinations. They are eight in Number, two Witnesses, as it were, taken out of each Province, to declare their bloody Proceedings: I shall begin with *Munster*, from whence we have yet very few Examinations brought up, the chiefest of them having been most unhappily carried another Way. Therefore I have thought fit, for the more full expressing their Miseries, to insert their general Remonstrance, made upon the Conclusion of the late Cessation, in the Year 1643. The two next ensuing are concerning the Province of *Conaght*, then those of the Province of *Ulster*; and lastly, two Examinations taken, of some Acts of Cruelty committed within the Province of *Lemster*. I have made choice, for the most Part of them, of such as have been put in by Persons of good Quality, of known Integrity and Credit. They are all upon Oath, as all the

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other Examinations concerning Cruelties before-mentioned likewise are. I shall leave the several Particulars to the Consideration of such, as shall please to take the Pains to read them over : And I may well say of them, in respect of the former Cruelties inserted, as was said to the Prophet *Ezekiel* in another Case, *Turn thee yet again, and thou shalt see greater Abominations than these.*

A general Remonstrance of the distressed Protestants, in the Province of Munster.

Setting forth, from the gasping Condition of their most sad and distressed Souls, That whereas the Province of *Munster*, through the vast Expence of *English* Treasure and Blood, was reduced from the Height of Barbarism, to such a Degree of Civility, that the Power and Dignity of the *English* Crown was much advanced and extended, by the surest and noblest Bonds of a flourishing People ; those of Religion, Civility and Profit. Of Religion, witnessed by the enlarged Congregations both in Cathedral and Parochial Churches. Civility, by the many costly Plantations, fair and strong Buildings, plentiful Markets, and bountiful Hospitality. And Profit, by the free Trade and Commerce throughout Christendom. Lands fully improved, abounding with Heards and Flocks of all Sorts of the best *English* Cattle ; which enabled us to advance great Sums to his Majesty's Customs, contribute large Subsidies, and to supply the West of *England* with such a considerable Proportion of Wool and Cattle, that a great
Part

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Part of the Trade of those Parts subsisted thereby. And this begun at the great Charge of the *English* Undertakers, in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, of famous Memory ; since when few Parts of *Christendom*, from their Beginning, in so short a Space, had such a Rise and Growth ; which was not alone to ourselves, but the very Natives must confess, that their Estates were hugely augmented by our Improvements. And therefore let it not be wondered at, that, when we consider from *what we are fallen to what we are fallen*, if the Pain of Loss strive to equal that of Sense, and if the Depth of our Miseries have not sunk our Souls to Stupidity, we may compare our Woes to the saddest Parallel of any Story. Our Temples demolished, or worse, profaned by Sacrifices to Idols ; our Houses and Castles become ruinous Heaps ; our Nation extirpated, destroyed : No Quality, Age, Sex privileged from Massacres and lingering Deaths, by being robbed and stripped naked, through Cold or Famine ; Passages of a notable Piece of Clemency and Mercy. The famished Infants of murdered Parents swarm in our Streets, and, for Want of Bread, perish before our Faces ; and many of our yet miserable Remnant, which lived plentifully and relieved others, are forced to ask Relief, and those they ask of constrained by Want to refuse them : So as undoubtedly our present Miseries are not far distant of those of *Samaria's* Siege ; and all those cast upon us by this unparalleled Rebellion, at a Time, when we were most confident and secure ; more and greater Immunities and Bounties being granted by his Majesty that now is, than ever was by his Royal Progenitors ; for what Cause, Offence, or least seeming Occasion of Provocation our

Souls could never imagine, Sin excepted, save that we were *Protestants*, and his Majesty's loyal Subjects, and could not endure their poisonous Breaths to belch out such Profaneness, as in a deep Measure pierced and wounded the sacred Fame of our King; and, to colour this, we must go under the notorious Names of first *Puritans*, and later of *Roundheads*; for particular Instances Time would fail, and Length weary the Reader.

But we are altogether confident to make it manifest, by abundant Instances, that the Depopulations in this Province of *Munster* do well and near equal those of the whole Kingdom. The Particulars whereof, as of the Multitude of inhuman Cruelties, were collected and reduced to several Instances, with ample Proof, by the many Months Endeavours of a Reverend Divine, one Archdeacon *Bisse*, thereunto authorized, by virtue of a Commission under the Broad-Seal of this Kingdom, who was most barbarously murdered by the *Irish*, expressing that to be the Cause. And because it may be thought requisite to touch something of the Demeanors of the *Irish*, since the Cessation, as well as before, many *English* have been murdered as they travelled, with other Expressions of that utter Detestations of the *English*, That if any remain, which few do, nor surely will do, that can but breath elsewhere, then must they be in a Degree worse than any known Slavery: And likewise for other Parts of the Cessation, they have been totally broken, and our Quarters, being of large Extent, universally taken from us, even to the Walls of our Garrisons; wherein we have often called to the Chief of them for Justice, which being denied, or, which
is

is worse, delayed, want of Means to justify ourselves leaves us without Remedy. All which we pour forth our Grievs and Supplications, above to God alone, and here on Earth to our dread Sovereign.

The Examination of Anne, the late Wife of John Sherring, late of the Territory of Ormond, near the Silver-Works in the County of Tipperary, aged about 25 Years, sworn and examined, deposeth and saith:

THAT about *Candlemas* was two Years, the said *John Sherring* her then Husband, going from his Farm, which he held from *John Kennedy*, Esq; near to the *Silver-Works*, one *Hugh Kennedy*, one of the Brothers of the said *John Kennedy*, a cruel Rebel, together with a great Multitude of *Irish* rebellious Soldiers, then and there fiercely assaulted and set upon her said Husband, and upon one *William Brock*, *William Laughlin*, *Thomas Collop*, and eight more *English Protestant* Men, and about ten Women, and upon some Children in their Company, and then and there stripped them of their Cloaths, and then with Stones, Pole-Axes, Skains, Swords, Pikes, Darts, and other Weapons, most barbarously murdered and massacred her said Husband, and all those *Protestant* Men, Women, and Children: In the Time of which Massacre, a most loud and fearful Noise and Storm of Thunder, Lightning, Wind, Hail-stones and Rain began: The Time being on a *Sabbath-day*, about an Hour before Night, the former Part of that Day being all very fair; but that Thunder, Lightning, and

Tempest happening suddenly after the Massacre was begun, much afrighted and terrified this Deponent and many others, insomuch as those Murderers themselves confessed it to be a Sign of God's Anger, and threatening of them for such their then Cruelty; yet it deterred them not, but they persisted in their bloody Act, until they had murdered those said *English Protestants*, and hacked, hewed, slashed, stabbed, and so massacred them, that many of them were cut all to pieces; and her Husband, for his Part, had thirty grievous Wounds then and there given him, viz. some through or near his Heart, ten mortal Wounds in his Head, three in his Belly, and in either Arm four, and the rest in his Thighs, Legs, Back and Neck: And that Murder done, those barbarous Rebels tied Withes about their Necks, and drew them out of the Refining-Mill, where indeed they slew them, and threw them or most of them into a deep Hole, formerly made, one upon another; so that none of those 23 Men, Women, nor Children, did escape Death. Howbeit, one *The. Ladell*, a *Scottish* Man, and one *George Kelsie*, who then and there endured and had many grievous Wounds, and being left on the Ground for dead, crawled up, after the Rebels were gone away, and with much Difficulty escaped with their Lives: And further saith, That such was God's Judgment upon the said *Hugh Kennedy* for that bloody Fact, that he presently fell into a most desperate Madness and Distraction, and could not rest Day nor Night; yet coveting to do more Mischief upon the *English*, but being prevented and denied to do it, he about a Week after drowned himself in the next River to the *Silver-Works*; but his barbarous and wicked

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wicked Soldiers went on with their Wickedness, and afterwards bragged how they had killed a Minister and his Wife, and four Children, near the City of *Limerick*; and this Deponent is too well assured, that those, and other *Irish* Rebels in that Part of the Country, exercised and committed a great Number of bloody Murders, Robberies, and Outrages, upon the Persons and Goods of the *Protestants*, so as very few escaped with their Lives, and none at all saved their Goods. And further saith, That all the *Popish* Gentry in the Country thereabouts, especially all those of the *Septs* and Names of the *O Brians*, the *Cogbluns*, and the *Kenedies*, were all Actors in the present Rebellion against his Majesty; and either acted, assisted, incited, or consented to all the Murders, Robberies, Cruelties, and rebellious Acts aforesaid. And she further saith, That by means of the said Rebellion, her said Husband and she were at *Werinwood*, about *Candlemas*, 1641, robbed and deprived of their Cattle, Household-Stuff, Corn, Malt, Provision, ready Money, Debts, the Benefit of their Lease, and other their Goods and Chattels, of the Value, and to their Loss, of 160*l.* at the least, and that the said *John Kenedy*, Esq; their Landlord, was the Man that so deprived and robbed them thereof, and the other Rebels stripped her stark naked. *Jurat. Feb. 10, 1643.*

Henry Jones.
Henry Brereton.

Anne Sherring.

The Examination of John Goldsmith, Parson of Brashole, in the County of Mayo, sworn and examined, swith:

THAT the Lord of *Mayo*, being to convoy all those of *Castle-Burre* to *Galway*, viz. Sir *Henry Bingham*, with all his Company, and the Bishop of *Killallae* with all his Company, with many of the neighbouring *English*, being about 60 in Number, whereof there were some 15 Ministers, covenanted with one *Edmund Bourk* for the safe Convoy of the same Parties upon a certain Day; and the said Lord of *Mayo* appointed them all to meet him at *Belcarab*, having first separated this Deponent from them to attend his Lady in the Work of the Ministry.

At which Day, the titular Archbishop and the Lord of *Mayo*, meeting with their whole Number, went on their Journey to *Sbreul*; at which Place the Lord of *Mayo* left them in the Custody of the said last named *Edmund Bourk*: But, as one Master *Bringburst* told the Deponent, the Lord of *Mayo* was not gone far from them, but the said *Edmund Bourk* drew out his Sword, directing the rest what they should do, and began to massacre those *Protestants*, and accordingly some were shot to death, some stabbed with Skains, some run through with Pikes, some cast into the Water and drowned; and the Women that were stripped naked, lying upon their Husbands to save them, were run through with Pikes, and very few of those *English* then and there escaped alive, but the most Part were murdered in the Place: Among the rest, the rest, the Bishop of *Killallae* escaped with his Life; but was then and there wounded in his Head; and one Master *Crowd*, a Minister, was then and there

there so beaten with Cudgels on his Feet, that he died shortly after.

And this Deponent further saith, That, in the Town of *Sligo*, forty Persons of *English* and *Scotish* were by the Rebels stripped and locked up in a Cellar; and about Midnight a Butcher, which was sent unto them on purpose, with his Axe knocked them all on the head, and so then and there murdered them; which Butcher, coming afterwards to *Castle-Burke*, did there confess his bloody Fact.

In *Tirawly*, within the County of , about thirty or forty *English* (formerly turned *Papists*) had their Choice given them, whether they would die by the Sword, or drown themselves: They making Choice of Drowning, were brought to the Sea-side by the Rebels, who had their Skains drawn in their Hands, and forced them to wade into the Sea: The Mothers, with their Children in their Arms, (crying for Drink) having waded to the Chin, at length cast or dived themselves and Children into the Sea, yielding themselves to the Mastery of the Waves, and so perished.

The Torments the Rebels would use to the *Protestants*, to make them confess their Moneys, were these, *viz.* Some they would take and writhe Withes about their Heads, until the Blood sprang out of the Crown of their Heads: Others they would hang until they were half-dead, then they would let them down, and do the same so often over, until they confessed their Moneys.

And this Deponent further saith, That a young Youth of about fifteen Years of Age, the Son of Master *Montgomery*, the Minister, meeting with a bloody Rebel, who had been his School-master, this Rebel drew his Skain, and began furi-

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furiously to Sash and cut him therewith; the Boy cried unto him, *Good Master, do not kill me, but whip me as much as you will!* Nevertheless the merciless and cruel Rebel then and there most barbarously murdered him.

A *Scotchman*, travelling in the Highway, with his Wife and Children, near were beset by the Rebels, who wounded and stabbed him with their Pikes, put him alive upon a Car, brought him to a Ditch, and buried him alive, as the poor Wife afterwards, with great Grief, told him this Deponent.

The Vicar of *Urras* turned *Papist*, and became Drummer to Captain *Bourk*, and was after murdered for his Pains by the Rebels.

Another *Scotchman*, near *Balleben*, was hanged by the Rebels. *Jurat. Decemb. 30, 1643.*

Henry Jones,
Henry Brereton.

Job. Goldsmith.

The Examination of Jane, the Wife of Thomas Stewart, late of the Town and County of Sligo, Merchant, sworn and examined before his Majesty's Commissioners, in that Behalf authorized, deposeth and saith:

THAT, after the present Rebellion was begun, viz. about the beginning of December, 1641, her said Husband living as a Merchant in the Town-*aforsaid*, with her this Deponent, as for twenty-*six* Years he had done, in very good Estate and Condition; and, having continually furnished the Inhabitants of that Part *thereabouts* with all Sorts of Wares and

and Merchandize; and by that Course having acquired and gained to himself an Estate of good Value, he, the said *Thomas Stewart*, and she this Deponent, then possessing that Estate, were then at *Sligo* aforesaid, by *Andrew Creane*, of *Sligo*, Esq; then High-Sheriff of that County, *Neile O Hart*, of *Donelly* in the said County, Gent. *Roger O Conner*, of *Skarden* in the same County, Gent. *Donnel O Conner* of , Gent. Brother-in-law to *Teige O Conner Sligo*; *Richard O Crean* of *Tirreragh*, Gent. *John O Crean*, Esq; and a Justice of Peace, Son to the said *Andrew Crean*; *Anthony Screane* of , near *Ballyshanny*, Gent. forcibly deprived, robbed and despoiled of their Household-goods, Wares, Merchandize, Specialties, Cattle, Horses, Plate, Money, and other Goods and Chattels, of the Value of one thousand two hundred Pounds *Sterl.* or thereabouts: Which Robbery and Outrage was committed in or about the beginning of *December* aforesaid, at the very Time of the Rebels surprising, robbing and pillaging of all the *English* and *Scots* of the Town of *Sligo*. In the doing whereof not only the Persons, Rebels before named, but also *Teige O Conner Sligo*, now of the Castle of *Sligo*, General of the Rebels in those Parts; *James French*, of *Sligo* aforesaid, Esq; a Justice of the Peace, a notorious and cruel Rebel; *Brian O Conner* of *Drumcleere*, Gent. Capt. *Charles O Conner*, a Frier; and Capt. *Hugh O Conner*, all three Captains, and Brothers to the said *Teige O Conner Sligo*; Capt. *Patrick Plunket*, near *Killoony*, in the same County, a Justice of the Peace, Capt. *Pbelim O Conner*; Capt. *Teige O Conner*, of the *Glan*; Capt. *Con O Conner*, of the same; and divers others, whose Names she cannot for the present remember,

her, were most forward and cruel Actors : And those Rebels, having altogether deprived and stripped all the *British* of all their Estates they had, she, this Deponent and her Husband, and many other *British*, were left in that Town ; and, amongst the rest, there were left there, which she can well remember, *viz. William Braxton* ; the Deponent and her Husband, and six Children ; *James Scot* and his Son, of the Age of four or five Years : *Sampson Port* and his Wife ; *Mary Port* and her Father, of the Age of seventy Years, or thereabouts ; *John Little*, *Arthur Martin*, *William Dowlittle* and his Wife, and Children ; *William Carter* ; *John Lewes*, and *Elizabeth* his Wife ; *Robert Scyens*, *Elizabeth Harlow* ; and one Woman then great with Child, and within a Month of her Time ; *Isabel Beard*, who was great with Child, and very near her Time ; and others whom she cannot name ; which *British* People, although they were promised fair Quarter, and iaken into the Protection of the said *Teige O Conner Sligo*, who promised them a Collection, yet they were daily threatened to be murdered, if they would not turn *Papists* in one Month then next after ; which, for saving of their Lives, they were enforced to do : Notwithstanding which, about the sixth of *January* then next following, the said *O Conner Sligo*, having before called a Meeting of his Followers and Kindred, in the Counties of *Sligo* and *Letrim*, and considered with them, and with a Convent of Friars, of the Abbey of *Sligo*, for three Days together, where they sat in Council, all the Men, Women and Children of the *British* that then could be found within the same Town, saving this Deponent, who was so sick that she could not stir, were summoned

summoned to go into the Goal; and as many as could be met withal were carried and put into the Goal of *Sligo*, where, about twelve a Clock in the Night, they were stripped stark-naked, and, after most of them were most cruelly and barbarously murdered with Swords, Axes, and Skains, and particularly, by two Butchers, named *James Buts* and *Robert Buts* of *Sligo*, who murdered many of them, wherein also were Actors *Charles O Corner* the Frier, and *Hugh O Corner* aforementioned, Brother to the said *Teige O Conner Sligo*, and *Teige O Sheile*, *Kedagh O Hart*, Labourer; *Richard Walsh* and *Thomas Walsh*, the one the Jailor, the other a Butcher; and divers others whom she cannot name.

And saith, That above thirty of the *British*, which were so put into the Goal, were then and there murdered; besides, *Robert Gumble*, then Provost of the said Town of *Sligo*; *Edward Newsham*, and *Edward Mercer*, who were wounded and left for dead amongst the rest; and *Jo. Steward*, this Deponent's Son, which four being the next Day found alive, yet all besmeared with Blood, were spared to live. All which Particulars the Deponent was credibly told by those that so escaped, and by her *Irish* Servants and others of the Town; and saith, That some of the Women so murdered being big with Child, by their Wounds received, the very Arms and Legs of the Children in their Wombs appeared, and were thrust out: And one Woman, viz. *Isabel Beard*, being in the House of the Friars, and hearing the lamentable Cry that was made, ran into the Street, and was pursued by one of the Friars Men unto the River, where she was barbarously murdered, and found the next Day, with the Child's Feet appearing, and thrust out of her Wounds in her Sides. And further saith, That, on the said sixth Day of *January*, there were

were murdered in the Streets of the Town of *Sligo*, these *British Protestants* following, viz. *William Shieles* and *John Shieles* his Son, *William Mapwell* and *Robert Akins*. And the Deponent further saith, as she was credibly informed by the Persons before named, That the inhumane Rebels, after their Murthers committed in the said Goal, laid and placed some of the dead Bodies of the naked murdered Men upon the naked Bodies of the Women in a most immodest Posture, not fit for chaste Ears to hear: In which Posture they continued to be seen the next Morning by those *Irish* of the Town that came into the said Goal, who were delighted and rejoiced in those bloody Murthers and uncivil Actions: And that they of the *Irish* that came to bury them, stood up to the mid-leg in the Blood and Brains of those that were so murdered, who were carried out and cast into a Pit digged for that Purpose, in the Garden of *Master Ricrofts*, Minister of *Sligo*. And she further saith, That whereas the River of *Sligo* was before very plentiful of Fish, it did not for a long Time after those Murders, afford any Fish at all: And this Deponent saw the Friars in their white Habits, in great Companies in Procession, going to sanctify the Water, casting therein to holy Water: She saith also, That the Prior of the Convent of *Sligo*, after the Murder of the said Woman in the River, fell frantic, and ran so about the Streets, and continued in that Frensy for three or four Weeks; and saith, That, of her six Children, three were starved and died, after her Release of Imprisonment, which had been for eighteen Months amongst the Rebels.

Jurat 23 Aprilis, 1644.

Henry Jones. Signum predict. VVV. Jane

Henry Brereton. ~~Signum~~ alias Menize.

Captain

Captain Anthony Stratford of Charlmount in the County of Armagh, Esq; aged threescore Years or thereabouts; sworn and examined before his Majesty's Commissioners, by Virtue of a Commission in that Behalf, directed under the Great Seal of Ireland: Deposeth and saith,

THAT these *Protestant* Ministers following, about the Beginning of the present Rebellion, were murdered in the Counties of *Tyrone* and *Armagh*, viz. Mr. *John Matthew*, Mr. *Blyth*, Mr. *Hastings*, Mr. *Smith*, Mr. *Durragh*, Mr. *Birge*, and eight more, whose Names this Deponent hath forgotten, by the Rebels, none of which would the Rebels permit to be buried; the Names of such as murdered, this Examinant knoweth not; his Cause of Knowledge of the said Murthers is, that some of his, this Deponent's Servants, who were among the Rebels, did give him the Relation, and he verily believeth them; and besides, this Deponent heard the same confessed and averred by many of the Rebels themselves, and by some of those *Protestants* that had escaped; and that he, this Deponent, was a Prisoner amongst the Rebels at *Castle Caulfield*, near the Place of those Murders, where he continued Fourteen Months. And further saith, that in *Dungannon*, in the County of *Tyrone*, or near thereunto, the Rebels murdered three Hundred and six *Protestants*, and between *Charlmount* and *Dungannon*, above four Hundred, that were murdered and drowned at, and in the River by *Benburb*, the *Black Water*, between the Coun-

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ties of *Armagh* and *Tyrone*, two Hundred and six *Protestants*, and *Patrick Mac Crew* of *Dungannon* afore said, murdered thirty one in one Morning, and two young Rebels, viz. *John Begbrian Harie*, murdered in the said County of *Tyrone*, one Hundred and forty poor Women and Children that could make no Resistance, and that the Wife of *Brian Kelly* of *Logball* in the County of *Armagh*, one of the Rebels Captains, did, with her own Hands, murder forty five. And this Deponent further saith, that one *Thomas King*, sometimes Serjeant to the late Lord *Caulfield's* Company, which this Deponent commanded, he being enforced to serve under the Rebels, and was one of their Provost Marshals, gave the Deponent a List of every Householder's Name so murdered, and the Number of Persons so murdered; which List this Deponent durst not keep: At *Portadowne* there were drowned at several times about three Hundred and eight, who were sent away by about forty, or such like Numbers at once, with Convoys, and there drowned: There was a Lowgh near *Logball* afore said, where were drowned above two Hundred, of which this Deponent was informed by several Persons, and particularly by the Wife of *Dr. Hodges*, and two of her Sons, who were present and designed for the like End, but by God's Mercy that gave them Favour in the Eyes of some of the Rebels, they escaped; and the said *Mrs. Hodges* and her Sons gave the Deponent a List of the Names of many of those that were so drowned, which the Deponent durst not keep; and saith, that the said *Dr. Hodges* was employed by *Sir Phelim O Neile* to make Powder, but he failing of his Undertaking, was first half hanged,

ed, then cut down, and kept Prisoner three Months, and then murdered with forty four more within a Quarter of a Mile of *Charlmount* aforesaid, they being by *Tirlogh Oge O Neile*, Brother to Sir *Pbelim*, sent to *Dungan-non* Prisoners, and in the Way murdered. This Deponent was shewed the Pit where they were all cast in. At a Mill-pond in the Parish of *Killamen*, in the County of *Tyrene*, there were drowned in one Day three Hundred; and in the same Parish, there were murdered of *English* and *Scottish* one Thousand and two Hundred, as this Deponent was informed by Mr. *Birge*, the late Minister of the said Parish, who certified the same under his Hand, which Note the Deponent durst not keep: The said Mr. *Birge* was murdered three Months after; all which Murders were in the first breaking out of the Rebellion; but the particular Times this Deponent cannot remember, neither the Persons by whom they were committed: This Deponent was credibly informed by the said Serjeant and others of this Deponent's Servants, who kept Company with the Rebels, and saw the same, that many young Children were cut into Quarters and Gobbets by the Rebels, and that eighteen *Scottish* Infants were hanged on a Clothier's Tenterhook, and that they murdered a young fat *Scottish* Man, and made Candles of his Grease; they took another *Scottish* Man and ripped up his Belly, that they might come to his small Guts, the one End whereof they tied to a Tree, and made him go round until he had drawn them all out of his Body, they then saying, that they would

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try whether a Dog's or a Scotch Man's Guts
were the longer.

Deposed *March 9. 1643*, before us,

Henry Jones,

Henry Brereton,

Anthony Stratford.

*The Examination of Robert Maxwell, Clerk,
Archdeacon of Downe, sworn and examined,
deposeth and saith, inter alia :*

THat by Command from Sir *Phelim O Neile*, the Rebels dragged the Depo-
nent's Brother, Lieutenant *James Maxwell* out
of his Bed in the Rage and Height of a burn-
ing Fever; and lest any of his Acquaintance
or Friends should bury him, they carried him
two Miles from any Church, and there cruelly
butchered him, when he neither knew what he
did or said; and thus Sir *Phelim* paid him two
Hundred and sixty Pound which he owed him :
And his Wife *Griffell Maxwell* being in Child-
birth, the Child half-born and half-unborn,
they stript stark naked, drove her about an
Arrow's Flight to the *Black Water*, and drown-
ed her : The like they did to another *English*
Woman in the same Parish, in the Beginning
of the Rebellion, which was little inferior, if
not more unnatural and barbarous than the
roasting of Mr. *Watson* alive, after they had
cut a Collop out of either Buttock. And far-
ther saith, that a *Scottish* Woman was found in
the *Glinwood*, lying dead, her Belly ripped up,
and a living Child crawling in her Womb, cut
out of the Cawl; and that Mr. *Starkey*, School-
Master at *Armagh*, he was a Gentleman of good
Parentage,

Parentage and Parts, being upwards of an hundred Years of Age, they stript naked, caused two of his Daughters, Virgins, being likewise naked, to support him under each Arm, he being not able to go of himself: And in that Posture carried them a quarter of Mile, to a Turf-pit, and drowned them, feeding the Lusts of ther Eyes, and the Cruelty of their Hearts with the self-same Objects at the same Time. At the Siege of *Augher*, they would not kill any *English* Beast, and then eat it, but they cut Collops out of them, being alive, letting them there roar till they had no more Flesh on their Backs, so that sometimes, a Beast would live two or three Days together in that Torment; the like they did at *Armagh*, when they murdered *Hugh Echlin*, Esq; they hanged and murdered all his *Irish* Servants, which had any Way proved faithful or useful to him during this Rebellion: And as touching exemplary Constancy in Religion, this Deponent saith, that *Henry Cowell*, Esq; a gallant and well bred Gentleman, was murdered because he would not consent to marry a beastly Trull, *Mary Ny Neile*, a near Kinswoman of Sir *Pbelim's*: He was profered his Life, without the *Blouse*, if he would have gone to Mass, but he chose rather to die, than to do either. There was made the like Profer of Life, for going to Mass to *Robert Echlin*, a Child of Eleven or Twelve Years of Age, but he also refused it, saying, he saw nothing in their Religion, for which he would change his own. And this Deponent further saith, that many of the *Brittish* Protestants, the Rebels buried alive, and took great Pleasure, to hear them speak unto them as they digged down old Ditches upon them; except thole whom they

thus buried, they buried none of the Protestants, neither would permit any who survived, to perform that Duty for them: And further saith, that the Rebels would send their Children Abroad in great Troops, especially near unto *Kinard*, armed with long Wattles and Whips, who would therewith beat dead Men's Bodies about their Privy members, untill they beat, or rather thrashed them off, and then would return in great Joy to their Parents, who received them for such Service as it were in Triumph. And further saith, that if any Women were found lying with their Faces downwards, they would turn them upon their Backs, and in great Flocks resort unto them, censuring all Parts of their Bodies, but especially such as are not fit to be named, which afterwards they abused so many Ways, and so filthily, as chaste Ears would not endure the very naming thereof.

Many of the *Protestants* the Rebels would not kill out-right, but being half-dead would so leave them, entreating for no better Favour at their Hands two or three Days after, but to kill them out-right, which sometimes were granted, sometimes denied.

A young Youth having his Back-bone broken, was found in a Field having like a Beast eaten, all the Grass round about him; the Deponent could not learn that they killed him out, but that they removed him to a Place of better Pasture, so that in those most bloody and execrable Wretches, that of the Holy Ghost is clearly verified, *The very Mercy of the wicked is Cruelty*: And further saith, that the Rebels themselves told him, this Deponent, that they murdered 954 in one Morning, in the County of *Antrim*; and that besides them, they supposed that

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that they killed above eleven, or twelve hundred more in that County. They told him likewise, that Colonel *Bryan O Neile*, killed above one thousand in the County of *Down*, besides three hundred killed near *Killeleigh*, and many hundreds both before and after in both those Counties.

At Sir *Phelim's* Return from *Lesnegavy*, some of the Soldiers forced above twenty-four *Brittish* into a House, where they burned them alive; whose terrible Out-cries they desired very much, to imitate, and express unto others: And saith, that he heard Sir *Phelim* likewise report, that he killed six hundred *English* at *Garvah*, in the County of *Derry*; and that he had left neither Man, Woman, nor Child alive in the Barony of *Munterlong*, in the County of *Tyrone*, and betwixt *Armagh* and the *Newry*, in the several Plantations and Lands of Sir *Archibald Atcheson*, *John Hamilton*, Esq; the Lord *Causfield*, and the Lord *Mount Norice*: And saith also, that there were above two thousand of the *British* murdered, for the most Part in their own Houses; whereof he was informed by a *Scotchman*, who was in those Parts with Sir *Phelim*, and saw their Houses filled with their dead Bodies. In the *Glenwood* towards *Dromore*, there were slaughtered, as the Rebels told the Deponent; upwards of twelve thousand in all, who were killed in their Flight to the County of *Downe*: The Number of the People drowned at the Bridge of *Portadowne*, are diversly reported according as Men staid among the Rebels; this Deponent who staid as long as any, and had better Intelligence than most of the *English* amongst them, and had best Reason to know the Truth, saith, there were (by their own Report) one hun-

dred with Mr. *Fullerton*: At another Time they threw a hundred and forty over the said Bridge; at another Time thirty-six or thirty-seven, and so continued drowning more or fewer, for seven or eight Weeks: So as the fewest which can be supposed there to have perished, must needs be above a thousand, besides as many more drowned betwixt that Bridge and the great *Lough* of *Montjoy*, besides those who perished by the Sword, Fire, and Famine, in *Coubrassil*, and the English Plantations adjacent: Which in Regard, there escaped not three hundred, out of all those Quarters, must needs amount to many thousands.

Near unto the Deponent's House, thirty-six Persons were carried to the *Cure-bridge* at one Time, and drowned. At another Time fifty-six, Men, Women and Children; all of them being taken out of the Deponent's House, and at other Times, several other Numbers; besides those that were drowned in the Black-water at *Kinnard*. In which Town and the Parish of *Tinnon* (whereof the Deponent was Rector) there was drowned, slaughtered and died of Famine, and for want of Cloaths, about six hundred. The Deponent might add to these many thousands more; but the Diary, which he this Deponent wrote amongst the Rebels, being burned, with his House, Books and all his Papers; he referreth himself to the Number in gross, which the Rebels themselves have upon Inquiry, found out and acknowledged; which notwithstanding will come short of all that have been murdered in *Ireland*; there being above one hundred and fifty four thousand now wanting of the *British*, within the very Precinct of *Ulster*.

And this Deponent further saith, that it was
common

common Table-talk amongst the Rebels, that the Ghosts of Mr. *William Pullerton*, *Timothy Jephes*, and the most of those who were thrown over *Portadown-Bridge*, were daily and nightly seen to walk upon the River, sometimes singing of Psalms, sometimes brandishing of naked Swords, sometimes screeching in a most hideous and fearful Manner. The Deponent did not believe the same at first, neither doth he yet know, whether to believe it or no; but saith that divers of the Rebels assured him that they themselves did dwell near to the same River, and being daily affrighted with those Apparitions, but especially with their horrible screeching, were in Conclusion inforced to remove further into the Country: Their own Priests and Fryers, could not deny the Truth thereof. But as it was by the Deponent objected unto them; said it was but cunning Silght of the Devil to hinder this great Work of propagating the Catholick Faith, and killing of Hereticks; or that it was wrought by Witchcraft. The Deponent himself, lived within thirteen Miles of the Bridge, and never heard any Man so much as doubt the Truth thereof. Howsoever, he obligeth no Man's Faith, in Regard he saw it not with his own Eyes; otherwise he had as much Certainty, as morally could be required of such a Matter.

And this Deponent farther saith; That the degenerate *Pale English*, were most cruel amongst the *British* Protestants, being beaten from their own Lands; and were never satisfied with their Blood, until they had in a Manner seen the last Drop thereof; affrighting Sir *Phelim O Neile* every Day with their Numbers, and perswading him, That whilst they (meaning the Protestants)

ants) lived, there would neither be room for them, nor Safety for him. It was easy to spur on the cowardly and bloody Rebel ; yet no sooner were the Protestants cut off, but contrary to their Expectation, the meer *Irish* took present Possession of their Lands and Houses ; whereat the *Pale English* much grumbled ; and said, Sir *Phelim* had not kept Promise with them ; howsoever, they were forced to swallow those and many other injuries.

And farther saith, that he knew one Boy, that dwelt near unto himself, and not exceeding fourteen Years of Age, who killed at *Kinnard*, in one Night, fifteen able strong Men with his Skein, they being disarmed, and most of their Feet in the Stocks.

Another not above twelve Years of Age, killed two Women at the Siege of *Augher*.

Another that was a Woman, and Tenant to this Deponent ; killed seven Men and Women, of her fellow *English* Tenants, in one Morning. And it was usual in all Parts, for the Rebels

children, to murder the Protestants Children ; and sometimes with Lath-sword, heavy, and well sharpened, they would venture upon People, of riper Years (Cruelties not to be believed, if there were not so many Eye-witnesses of them.)

Deposed 22. of August, 1642.

Henry Brereton, William Aldrich.

The Examination of Dame *Anne Butler*,
Wife unto Sir *Thomas Butler*, of *Rathealin*, in the County of *Catherlagh*, Knight,
duely Sworn ; *Deposeth* :

THAT after Sir *Walter Bagnal* of *Dunlickny*, in the County of *Catherlagh*, Esq; *Walter Butler* with a great Number of Men, had in a violent Manner entered the Deponent's House, they not able to resist, they set strict Guard over this Deponent, her Husband and Family, and brought them from their settled Dwelling unto *Loghlin Bridge*, where they kept herself, and Husband and Children in Restraint for two Weeks, and from thence conveyed them with strict Guard to the Town of *Kilkenny*; and there were brought before the Lord *Mount Garrot*; where *Walter Bagnal* and *James Butler*, Brother to the Lord *Mount Garrot* did use all Means possible to move the said Lord, to put this Deponent, her Husband and Family to Death and Torture; alledging that they were rank *Puritan Protestants*, and desperately provoking, used these Words, saying, *There is but one Way, we or they, (meaning Papists or Protestants) must perish.* To which malicious Provocation the said Lord did not hearken: And this Deponent farther deposeth, that *Walter Bagnal*, with his rebellious Company, apprehended *Richard Lake* an *English* Protestant, and his Servant, with his Wife and four Children, and one *Richard Taylor* of *Loghlin-Bridge*, his Wife and Children, *Samuel Hatter* of the same, his Wife and Children, an *English* Woman, called *Jone*, and her Daughter, and was credibly informed

formed by *Dorothy Renals*, who had several Times been an Eye-witness of these lamentable Spectacles, that she had seen to the Number of five and thirty *English* going to Execution, and that she had seen them when executed, their Bodies exposed to devouring Ravens, and not afforded so much as Burial. Another *English-woman* who was newly delivered of two Children in one Birth, they violently compelled her in her great Pain and Sickness, to rise from her Child-bed, and took the Infant that was left alive, and dashed his Brains against the Stones, and after threw him into the River of the *Barrow*: And having a Piece of Salmon to Dinner, Mr. *Brian Cavanagh's* Wife being with her, she the said Mrs. *Cavanagh* refused to eat any Part of the Salmon, and being demanded the Reason, she said she would never eat any Fish that came out of the *Barrow*, because she had seen several Infants Bodies, and other Carcases of the *English* taken up in the *Wear*.

And this Deponent saith, that Sir *Edward Butler* did credibly inform her, that *James Butler* of *Finybinch*, had hanged and put to death, all the *English* that were at *Gorane* and *Wells*, and all thereabouts. And farther deposeth, that she being at *Kilkenny* a Prisoner in restraint, and having Intelligence that some of her own Cattle, were brought thither by *Waltar Bagnal*, she petitioned (being in great Extremity) to the Lord of *Mount Garrot*, to procure her some of her own Cattle for her Relief; whereupon he recommended her Suit to the Mayor and Corporation of *Kilkenny*; who concluded, because she and her Family were Protestants, and would not turn to Mass, they should have no Relief. *Jane Jones,*

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Jones, Servant to the Deponent, did see the *English* formerly specified, going to their Execution; and as she conceived, they were about the Number of five and thirty; and was told by *Elizabeth Homes*, that there were forty gone to Execution.

Jurat 7. Septem. 1642.

Anne Butler, John Watson.

The Examination of *Joseph Wheeler*, of *Stancarty* in the County of *Kilkenny*, Esq; *Elizabeth*, the Relict of Lieutenant *William Gilbert*, of Captain *Ridgway's* Company; *Rebecca Hill*, the Relict of *Thomas Hill*, late Lieutenant to the said Capt. *Ridgway*; *Thomas Lewes*, late of *Kilkenny*, Gent. *Jonas Wheeler* of *Stancarty* aforesaid, Gent. and *Patrick Maxwell* of the *Graige* in the same County, Gent. Sworn and examined, depose and say:

THAT about *Easter 1642.* one *Richard Phillips* and five others, who were old Garrison Souldiers, then under the Command of Captain *Farrel*, a Captain on his Majesty's Party, were, by the Command of the Lord *Mount Garrot*, at the End of a House in *Kilkenny*, hang-ed to death by that cruel and bloody Rebel and Provost Marshal *Thomas Cantwel* of *Cantwel-count*, Esq; or some of his Servants or Soldiers in his Presence, who would hardly suffer them to say their Prayers, after they were taken out of the Prison, before they were put to death, those poor Men dying very patiently and resolutely, in the Maintenance of the Protestant Faith; but one of them because he was an *Irish* Man

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Man, was offered his Life if he would turn Papist, but he chose rather Death, which he had with the other five: and farther saith, that a little before *Christmas 1641*. Mr. *William Hill*, of the Abby of in the *Queens County*, Esq; and the said Lieutenant his Son, coming to *Kilkenny*, to fetch Home *Mary Hill*, the Wife of him the said *William Hill*, and the said *Rebecca*; one of these Deponents were then, and there, sent for by the Lord *Mount Garrot*, and by him committed Prisoners to the Gaol of *Kilkenny*; where they continued in a dark Dungeon bolted for two Months, but were offered Freedom if they would join with the Rebels, and become Papists; but they refused, and after the said Lord *Mount Garrot*, was gone into *Munster* with his Forces, (which was an Example to all the rest of the wicked *Irish* there to rise into Rebellion) one *Florence Fitz Patrick* of *Castletown*, in the *Queens County*, Esq; a Captain of Rebels, and his Soldiers came to *Kilkenny*, and then and there (without Resistance of any) broke open the Gaol there, and forcibly took and carried away with them into *Ossory* aforesaid, the said *William* and *Thomas Hill*, where they kept them in miserable Durance for some Time, and then hanged them both; and a poor young Girl being sent from the Town of *Ballinekil* to see what was become of them, the said *Florence Fitz Patrick* meeting her, caused her to be half hanged, then let down, and after to be buried quick: And by Report of one *Jone Grace* (that said she was an Eye-witness) the Rebels threw the dead Body of the said *William* and *Thomas Hill*, into a Saw-pit, leaving them so far unburied, that their Heads and Legs lay bare, until she came and covered them with Earth, about a
Week

Week after. And farther faith, that they have credibly heard and believe, that the said *Florence Fitz Patrick*, having enticed a rich Merchant of *Montrath* to his the said *Fitz Patrick's* House, to bring thither his Goods, afterwards caused the said Merchant, and his Wife to be hanged; and they have credibly heard, that the said *Florence Fitz Patrick*, also hanged Lieutenant *Keies* and his Son, one *Hughes* a School-master, and divers other Protestants: And those Deponents farther say, that Mr. *Edmond Butler*, eldest Son to the Lord *Mount Garrot*, *Edward Butler* his second Son, Captain *Garret Blanckfeld*, and divers other rebellious Commanders and Soldiers, to the Number of six or seven hundred Horse and Foot, a little before *Michaelmas* 1642. marched from *Balliragget*, near to the Iron Forge of *Ballinekil*, and there met with Lieutenant *Gilbert* aforementioned Ensign, *William Alfrey* the younger, Mr. *Thomas Bingham* the Minister, *Robert Graves*, *Richard Bentley*, and about sixty more of the *English* Soldiers, both the same Parties joined in Battle; but the *English* Soldiers, though fighting valiantly, and killing many Rebels (and one *Walter Butler*, a Captain among the rest) were at last so overcome with Multitudes of the Rebels, that then and there they, the said Lieutenant *Gilbert*, *William Alfry*, *Thomas Bingham*, *Robert Graves*, *Richard Bentley*, and two other *English* Soldiers were absolutely slain, and the Heads of all those seven carried to *Kilkenny* by those Rebels (their Pipes for Joy playing before them on Horse-back) and on a Market-day which happened to be on the next Day following, those Heads as Triumphs of their Victories, there brought out, and set upon the Market-cross, where the Rebels, but especially the

the Women there, and amongst the rest *Elice Butler*, a reputed Mother of several Bastards, yet the Daughter of the said *Mount Garrot*, stab'd, cut and flasht those Heads, the said *Elice Butler*, drawing her Skein, flasht at the Face of the said *William Alfry*, and hit him on the Nose, and those that could but get a Blow or Stab at those Heads, seemed to account themselves happy : And the Rebels then and there, put a Gag in the Mouth of the said *Thomas Bingham* the Minister, and laying the Leaf of a Bible before him, bad him preach ; saying, his Mouth was open and wide enough, and one of those lewd Viragoes, that had no Weapons, struck one of the Heads so with her Hand, that the same Night, her Hand grew black and blew, rankled, and she was extreme lame with it a Quarter of a Year after ; and that Lameness, and the swelling, thereof growing to an Issue ; is like to continue till she dies : And another of those Women, that with great rejoicings went and saw those Heads, did quickly after the Sight thereof, fall into such Astonishment and Distraction, that for three or four Days after, she could not sleep nor rest, but cryed out, that still she saw those Heads before her Eyes ; which Heads being said by the Rebels, to be the Heads of Hereticks, were not afforded a Christian Burial, but buried without the City in a cross High-way, all together in a Hole ; the Buriers chopping and cutting the Aeads with their Spades as they threw Mold upon them. And to make the Manner of their Burial, and the Heads themselves yet more contemptible ; the Rebels (over the Hole where the Heads were laid) set up a long Stick, whereto they fixed Papers, that all may take Notice of the Place : And after and from that Time,
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the rebellious roguish Boys, took, and frequently used an Oath, *by the Cross of the seven Devils Heads, buried on St. James's-Green*: And farther say, That upon the Testimony of a roguish Boy, that an *Englishman*, that was a Maulster to one *Richard Shaw* of *Kilkenny*, had said, *He would believe the Devil as soon as the Pope*, the cruel Rebel, the Provost Marshal *Cantwell* afore-named, suddenly took and hanged him up in an Apple-tree till he died: And farther saith, That one *Unfil Grace*, and divers other Rebels in *Kilkenny*, broke open the Doors of the Cathedral Church there, and robbed the same Church of the Chalice, Surplices, Ornaments, Books, Records, and Writings there being; and made Gunpowder in *St. Patrick's Church*, and digged the Tombs and Graves in the Churches in *Kilkenny*, under Colour of getting up Molds, whereon to mske Gunpowder: And these Deponents have credibly heard, and verily believe that the Rebels at *Goran* took twenty-five Protestants, Men, Women, and Children, and, pretending and promising to them a Convoy to *Dungannon*, hanged them dead in the Way, in a Wood near *New Ross*; and that the Rebels half hanged five more Protestants, at *Ballinagget*, by the Command of the said Captain *Edward Butler*, and the said *Thomas Cantwell* the Marshal, and, letting them down again before they were dead, suffered them somewhat to recover, and then buried them quick: And these Deponents, *Thomas Lewis*, *Patrick Maxwell*, farther say, That, as they have been credibly told, by *Walter Archer* of *Kilkenny* a Rebel, that a poor *Englishman's* Wife that went out together Sticks, at a Place about two Miles from *Kilkenny*, was taken and hanged up by the Rebels: And the

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Deponents, *Elizabeth Gilbert, Patrick Maxwell*, farther say, That a poor Woman and two Children, she being the Wife of one *Harvey* of *Ballinkil*, coming to *Kilkenny*, about Candlemas Twelve-month, were then and there assaulted, and set upon by the rebellious Inhabitants of that City ; and hunted, baited, and drawn with Dogs, cruelly stabbed with Skains, and so miserably used, that one of the Children died presently, having the Guts plucked out : And the Deponet *Patrick Maxwell*, farther saith, That there were taken out of *Graige* by the Rebels, and hanged to death, one *John Stone*, and his Wife, and his Son, *William Valentine, Robert Pime* and his Wife, one of their Children of a Year and a halh old, and *Thomas White*, a Merchant and his Wife, who being great with Child, had her Belly ripped up, after she was hanged, so as the Child fell out of the Cawl alive ; *Walter Sherley*, Mistres *Joan Salter*, an antient Widow, one *John*, a Servant to *Stone* aforenamed ; the Rebels that hanged them were *Garret Forrestal* of *Knockive*, and *Gibbon Forrestal* of *Tinybinch*, and the eldest Son of *Richard Barron*, alias *Fitz Geraldine* of *Knockeen* afore said, and divers others, whom she cannot Name, all of the County of *Caterlagh* ; which said *Robert Pyme*, after he was hanged up twice, proved alive in his Grave, and struck his Hand upon his Breast saying, *Christ receive my Soul*, and with those Words in his Mouth, was then, and there buried quick ; and one of those poor Protestants at *Goran*, by name *Fristoram Robinson*, the Rebels hanged him twice, thrust him through with Darts, but he still continuing alive, and speaking, they buried him quick : And this Deponent *Jonas Wheeler* farther saith, That one old

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English Protestant, who was a Shepherd, and his Wife, going from *Kilkenny* towards *Ballinacorney*, the Rebels hanged up the the poor old Man, and going a little off, his Wife perceiving Breath in her Husband, said unto him, *Oh! Joy, you are alive yet*; which when some of the Rebels over-hearing, hanged him out-right, and dragged him up and down until his Bowels fell out. then his Wife desiring them to hang her too, but they refused: And saith, that this Deponent asking the Rebels of *Kilkenny*, how they durst do what they did, considering the King was against them? they answered, That if the King would not hold with them, they could have forty thousand to assist them out of *France* and *Spain*, and bring Ammunition and Arms enough; and all Things necessary, and fight against the King and the *English*: And the Deponent *Elizabeth Gilbert*, farther saith, that she heard one *James Eustace*, a Servant to the Rebel Colonel *Cullen*, say publicly, in Master *Joseph Wheeler's* House in *Kilkenny*, Let the King take heed, for if they (meaning the *Irish*) had not their own Desires they would bring in a foreign King; and one *Tristram Dyer*, a Protestant, was (as his Wife told this Deponent) murdered in a Wood, with his own Hatchet, and covered with Leaves and Moss.

Examinations, touching the Apparitions at *Portnedown-Bridge*, within the Province of *Ulster*.

JAMES SHAW of *Market-hill*, in the County of *Armagh*, Inn-keeper, deposeth,
“ That many of the *Irish* Rebels, in the Time

of this Deponent's Restraint, and staying among them, told him very often, and that it was a common Report, that all those that lived about the Bridge of *Portnedowne*, were so affrighted with the Cries and Noise made there of some Spirits, for Revenge, as that they durst not stay, but fled away thence; so, as they protested, affrighted to *Market-hill*; saying, that they durst not stay nor return thither, for fear of those Cries and Spirits, but took Grounds, and made Creats in or near the Parish of *Mullabrack*." *Jurat. Aug. 14, 1642.*

Joan the relict of *Gabriel Constable*, late of *Drumard*, in the County of *Armagh*, Gent. deposeth and saith, that she hath often heard the Rebels, *Owen O Farren*, *Patrick O Conellan*, and divers others of the Rebels at *Drumard*, earnestly say, protest and tell one another, that the Blood of some of those that were knocked on the head, and afterwards drowned at *Portnedowne-Bridge*, still remained on the Bridge, and would not be washed away; and that often their appeared Apparitions, sometimes of Men and Women, Breast-high above the Water; at, or near *Portnedown*; which did most extreemly and fearfully shriek and cry out, for Vengeance against the *Irish* that had murdered their Bodies there; and that their Cries and Shrieks did so terrify the *Irish* thereabouts, that none durst stay, nor live longer there, but fled and removed further into the Country, and this was a common Report among the Rebels there; and that it passed for a Truth among them, for any Thing she could ever observe to the contrary," *Jurat. Jan. 1. 1643.*

Katherine, the Relict of *William Coke*, late of the County of *Armagh*, Carpenter, sworn and ex-

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amined, saith, " That about the 20th of *December*, 1641, a great Number of Rebels in that County did most barbarously drown at that Time one hundred and eighty *Protestants*, Men, Women, and Children, in the River at the Bridge of *Portnedowne*; and, that about nine Days afterward she saw a Vision or Spirit in the Shape of a Man, as she apprehended, that appeared in that River, in the Place of the drowning, bolt upright Breast-high, with Hands lifted up, and stood in that Posture there, until the latter End of *Lent* next following; about which Time some of the *English* Army marching in those Parts, whereof her Husband was one, as he and they confidently affirmed to this Deponent, saw that Spirit or Vision standing upright, and in the Posture aforementioned; but after that Time the said Spirit or Vision vanished, and appeared no more, that she knoweth: And she heard, but saw not, that there were other Apparitions, much Shrieking and strange Noise heard in that River at Times afterwards." *jurat. February, 24, 1643.*

Elizabeth, the Wife of Captain *Rice Price*, of *Armagh*, deposeth and saith, " That she and other Women, whose Husbands were murdered, hearing of divers Apparitions and Visions, which were seen near *Portnedowne-Bridge*, since the Drowning of her Children, and the rest of the *Protestants* there, went unto the Bridge aforesaid about Twilight in the Evening; then and there upon a sudden there appeared unto them a Vision or Spirit, assuming the Shape of a Woman, Waste-high upright in the Water, naked, with elevated and closed Hands, her Hair hanging down, very

white; her Eyes seemed to twinkle, and her Skin as white as Snow; which Spirit seemed to stand strait up in the Water, often repeated the Word *Revenge, Revenge, Revenge*; whereat this Deponent and the rest, being put into a strong Amazement and Affright, walked from the Place." *Jurat. January 29, 1642.*

Arthur Culme, of *Clowoughter*, in the County of *Cavan*, Esq; deposeth, " That he was credibly informed, by some that were present there, that there were thirty Women and young Children and seven Men flung into the River of *Belterbert*; and, when some of them offered to swim for their Lives, they were by the Rebels followed in Cots, and knocked on the Heads with Poles; the same Day they hanged two Women at *Turbert*; and this Deponent doth verily believe, that *Mulmore O Rely*, the then Sheriff, had a Hand in the commanding the Murder of those said Persons; for that he saw him write two Notes, which he sent to *Turbert* by *Bryan Rely*, upon whose Coming these Murders were committed: And those Persons who were present also affirmed, That the Bodies of those thirty Persons drowned did not appear upon the Water till about six Weeks after past; as the said *Rely* came to the Town, all the Bodies came floating up to the very Bridge: Those Persons were all formerly stayed in the Town by his Protection, when the rest of their Neighbours in the Town went away."

Elizabeth Price, Wife of *Michael Price*, of the *Newry*, deposeth, " That Sir *Con MacGennis* suffered his Soldiers, the Rebels, to kill *Maller Turge*, Minister of the *Newry*, and several other *Protestants*; and he, the said Sir
Con

Con Mac-Gennis, on his Death-bed was so much affrighted with Apprehension that the said Master *Turge*, so slain, was still in his Presence, as that he commanded no *Protestants* from that time should be slain, but what should be killed in Battle; and, after his Death, Sir *Con Mac-Gennis*, his Brother, would have observed his Directions, but one *John Mac-Gennis*, the young Lord of *Evab* and *Monk-eCrelly*, were earnest to have all the rest of the *Protestants* put to death.

Master *George Creighton*, Minister of *Virginia*, in the County of *Cavan*, deposeth, among other Particulars in his Examination, " That divers Women brought into his House a young Woman almost naked, to whom a Rogue came upon the Way, these Women being present, and required her to give him her Money, or else he would kill her, and so drew his Sword; her Answer was, You cannot kill me unless God give you Leave, and his Will be done: Whereupon the Rogue thrust three Times at her naked Body with his drawn Sword, and yet never pierced her Skin; whereat he being, as it seems, much confounded, went away and left her; and that he saw this Woman, and heard this Particular related by divers Women, who were by, and saw what they reported."

Upon the View of these Examinations all taken upon Oath, it may easily be conjectured how fatally the first Plot took, how furiously the *Rebels*, throughout all the Parts of the Kingdom, proceeded in their barbarous bloody Executions, and what were the Courses they held to bring about so suddenly the universal Destruction

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tion of all the *British* and *Protestants* there planted. It is most true, that in *Lemster* and *Munster*, (and yet one would scarce believe it, that considers the horrid Particulars related in the fore-recited Examinations of those two Provinces) they were not generally so bloody, neither did they begin their work so early as in the Provinces of *Ulster* and *Conaught*.

The ill Success of the Enterprize upon the Castle of *Dublin* did cool them for a Time, put them to a stand, and caused them to take up new Councils : But when they had once declared themselves, they did in a very few Days strip and despoil all the *English* settled among them, and drove great Numbers of them even stark-naked to several Ports on the Sea-side, there to provide themselves Passage for *England*, or otherwise most miserably to starve and perish, as many of them did, being inhumanely denied any kind of Relief in those Towns under the Command of the *Rebels*. And here I must not forget to interpose this certain Truth, that in all the four Provinces, the horrid Cruelties used towards the *British* either in their bloody Massacres, or merciless Despoiling, Stripping, and Extirpation of them, were generally acted in most Parts of the Kingdom, before they could gather themselves together to make any considerable Resistance against their Fury, and before the State had assembled their Forces, or were enabled, by the Power of his Majesty's Arms, to make any Inroads into the Counties possessed by the *Rebels* : A Circumstance which totally destroyeth all those vain Pretences and Recriminations, which they have since most falsely taken up to palliate this their most *abominable Rebellion*.

And

And this is not to be denied, though it be also true, that those *British*, whom they suffered to live among them, either upon Condition of Change of their Religion, out of private Interest, or such as they kept in Prison, were not put to the Sword, until the *Rebels*, in the several Encounters they had with his Majesty's Forces, suffered loss of their Men, and so, being enraged therewith at their return home after any Disaster, they fell furiously to take Revenge upon such *British*, whether Men, Women or Children, as they held in most miserable Captivity with them.

How far their Madness, Fury, and most implacable Malice, did, after the Manner of Brute beasts, transport them towards the Destruction of those miserable, harmless Souls they detained among them, doth clearly appear by several Particulars expressed in several Examinations. I shall here insert some of them taken upon trust from Persons of good Quality and Credit, who were long Prisoners among them.

I find, in one Part of Doctor *Maxwell's* Examinations, which I thought not fit wholly to insert, because it is of great length, and many Particulars in it, nothing tending to that Purpose for which it is formerly mentioned, that about *May*, 1642, when the *Scotish* Army, under command of General Major *Monro*, had marched down from *Carickfergus*, taken in the *Newry*, beaten the *Irish* out of those Parts with the Slaughter of many of them, Sir *Philim O Neale* caused 5000 *British*, whom he detained in *Armagh*, *Tyrone*, and other Parts of the North, to be most miserably murdered in the Space of three Days. *James Shaw*, of *Market-hill*, in the County of *Armagh*, deposeth and saith,
' That

‘ That, during the Time this Deponent was in
 ‘ Restraint, and staid among the *Rebels* in the
 ‘ County of *Armagh* went to besiege the Castle
 ‘ of *Augher*, where they were repulsed, and di-
 ‘ vers of the *Rebels* of the *Sept* of *O Neales* slain :
 ‘ In revenge whereof, the grand *Rebels*, Sir
 ‘ *Phelim O Neale*, gave Direction and Warrant
 ‘ to one *Mulmory Mac-Donell*, a most cruel and
 ‘ merciless *Rebel*, to kill all the *English* and
 ‘ *Scotish* within the Parishes of *Mullebrack*, *Lo-*
 ‘ *gilly* and *Kilcluney* ; whereupon the said *Rebel*
 ‘ did murder 27 *Scotish* and *English Protestants*,
 ‘ within Musket-shot of this Deponent’s own
 ‘ House.’ And further saith, ‘ That, in those
 ‘ three Parishes, there have been before that
 ‘ and since, by Killing, Drowning, and Starv-
 ‘ ing, put to Death above 1500 *Protestants*, he
 ‘ observed and well knew, that the greatest Part
 ‘ of the *Rebels*.

William Fitz-Gerald, a Clerk, of *Irish* Birth,
 dwelling near *Armagh*, and the re-residing when
 this Rebellion broke out, deposeth and saith,
 ‘ That all Places of the North, where Sir *Phelim*
 ‘ *O Neale*, under the Name of General of the
 ‘ *Catholic Army*, commanded, were filled with
 ‘ Murders of the *Protestants* : And that, when
 ‘ at *Augher*, *Lisnagarue*, or any other Places,
 ‘ the *Rebels* received Loss of their Men, those
 ‘ that escaped exercised their Cruelty upon the
 ‘ *Protestants* every where at their Return : And
 ‘ that about the first of *May*, 1642, when Sir
 ‘ *Phelim O Neale* had Notice of the Taking of
 ‘ the *Newry* by his Majesty’s Forces, he retir-
 ‘ ed that Night in all haste to the Town of
 ‘ *Armagh*, and the next Day as well the Town
 ‘ of *Armagh*, as the Cathedral Church there,
 ‘ and all the Villages and Houses in the Coun-
 ‘ try round about, together with all Provisions,
 ‘ were

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‘ were fired by the *Rebels*; and many Men,
‘ Women and Children murdered, as well in
‘ the Town as in the Country round about.’

There is much more to be said on this Subject, but I shall forbear to rake further into many other foul Circumstances, which would make this Rebellion appear far more odious and detestable. I shall now return to take up the public Affairs of the State, where I left them in the Hands of the Lords Justices and Council, who, finding the City to grow more and more impetered with Strangers, by reason of the Resort of great Numbers of ill-affected Persons that daily made Repair thereunto, they issued out several other Proclamations, to prohibit the Access of all Strangers to the Town, and to require such as remained in the City, without Calling or settled Habitation, to depart.

Sir *Henry Tichborne*, being dispatched with his Regiment of Foot to *Tredagh*, as is formerly mentioned, the Lords Justices took further Order for the present raising of other Foot Companies; as likewise some Troops of Horse, which might serve for the Defence of the City of *Dublin*, now in most imminent Danger, by reason of the Approaches made by the Forces of the *Rebels*.

Sir *Charles Coot* had a Commission for a Regiment, which he quickly made up out of the poor stripped *English*, who had repaired from divers Parts even naked to the Town, and upon the Engagements of the State procured Cloaths for them.

The Lord *Lambert*, to whom a Commission also was granted for the raising of another Regiment, began also to get some Men together.

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The Earl of *Ormond* was now arrived in *Dublin*, and brought up with him his Troop, consisting of 100 Cuirassiers compleatly armed.

Sir *Thomas Lucas*, who had long commanded a Troop of Horse in the *Low-Countries*, and Captain *Armstrong* some time after, yet very seasonably came thither: Both of them had Money imprested; Sir *Thomas Lucas* to compleat his Troop already brought out of *England*, Captain *Armstrong* to raise a new Troop.

Captain *Yarner* also arrived soon after at *Dublin*; he was sent out of *England* by the Lord Lieutenant to raise and command his Troop, which in a very short time he made up about 100 Horse, many Persons, then living in the Town, being desirous to put themselves and their Horses into that Troop.

Not long after Colonel *Craford* came over also, and bringing with him Letters of Recommendation from the Prince Elector, then attending his Majesty in *Scotland*, under whom he had formerly the Command of a Regiment of Dragoons in *Germany*, the Lords Justices thought fit to give him a Regiment, which they were then taking Order to raise and arm out of such Townsmen as were fit to bear Arms within the City of *Dublin*; but none were to be admitted into it but *Protestants*, and out of them they made choice not only of the Soldiers, but of all the Officers belonging to the same.

And further, for the repressing of the Disorders daily appearing within the City, and restraining the ill Affections of the *Papists*, there inhabiting, they made Sir *Charles Coote* Governor of the City, and gave him an Allowance of 400 *s. per Diem* for the present.

Now

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Now while these Colonels and Captains are bestirring themselves, in getting their Men together under their several Commands, and in training them up to the Use of their Arms; and the Governor of the Town taking strict Order for constant Watches within, and Guards without to restrain the Repair of all suspicious and ill-affected Persons; I shall in the mean time give an Account of the Adjournment of the Parliament, according to the late Prorogation made by the Lords Justices, which some of the ill-affected Members of both Houses endeavoured to make use of for the raising of further Troubles.

In the Month of *August*, before the Rebellion brake out, the Parliament was adjourned to the 17th of *November* next ensuing: Now, upon the Discovery of the late Conspiracy, for the Surprise of his Majesty's Castle of *Dublin*, the ordinary Place of meeting for both Houses of Parliament, the Lords, finding that the Fire was begun in the North, and fearing a general Revolt of all other Parts of the Kingdom, resolved, as a Matter highly tending to the Safety and Security of the City and Castle, to prorogue the Parliament, which they did by Proclamation then set out until the 24th of *February*. But, two or three Days before such of the Lords and Commons then in the Town were to meet of course in their several Houses, for declaring the said Prorogation, it was generally noised abroad, that the putting off the Parliament was extremely ill taken by the *Papish* Members of both Houses.

Mr. *Burk*, who was one of the Committee lately employed into *England*, came to the Lord *Dillon*, of *Kilkenny-West*, and highly complaining

ing of the Injury which, he said, was done thereby to the whole Nation, hindering them from expressing their loyal Affections to his Majesty, and shewing their Desires to quell this dangerous Rebellion; and that they had Reason to resent it so far, as to complain to the King thereof, as a Point of high Injustice; his Lordship having acquainted the Board herewith, Mr. *Burk* was presently sent for, and he used the same Language in effect there, though with much Modesty.

Hereupon the Lords fell into Debate what was fit to be done, and how far it might be thought reasonable in them to condescend to their Desires: Some were of Opinion that it was fit to disannul the Prorogation, and to give them leave to continue the Parliament according to the first Adjournment made the Beginning of *August*. They urged the very ill Condition of the whole Kingdom in regard of the Northern Rebellion, and that those of the Counties of *Wicklow* and *Wexford*, as well as some other Counties in *Conaght*, had already joined themselves to them; that this Prorogation might peradventure so irritate the *Pale*, and have such an Influence into *Munster* as might raise them into Arms, and so put the whole Kingdom into a general Combustion.

Others of the Board voted strongly for the holding of the Prorogation according to the Time prefixed by the Proclamation, grounded their Opinion upon these Reasons: First, that it would highly trench upon the Gravity and Wisdom of the Board to alter a Resolution so solemnly taken up, after a most serious Debate and publicly made known throughout the whole Kingdom by Proclamation; that it would be of most dan-

dangerous Consequence to bring so great a Multitude of People to the City in such dangerous Times; that the *Protestants* and well-affected Members of both Houses were for the most part either destroyed, dispersed, or so shut up as they could not repair to the present Meeting; and that therefore the *Irish* would be superior in Number and Voices, and so wholly carry all Things according to their own Humour; that, considering the small Forces then in the City, such great Numbers as might take Occasion, under Colour of coming to the Parliament, to repair thither, could not be admitted without apparent Danger and Disturbance; and that peradventure they might there find as ill Affections as they brought, and so, both joining together, they might easily destroy the State with the poor Remainders of the *English* Nation in these Parts: Whereupon the Lords thought fit to hold to their Prorogation, yet to endeavour so to attemper and sweeten it, as those who were most averse might in some measure rest satisfied therewith.

And therefore, after a long Debate of all particular Circumstances, they came at length to this Resolution, That the Earl of *Ormond*, the Master of the Rolls, and Sir *Pierce Crosby*, three Members of the Board, should have a Meeting with Mr. *Darcy*, Mr. *Burk*, and some others of the most active and powerful Members of the House of Commons, and that they should let them know from the Lords, that they have understood of their good Affections and Desires to do somewhat in the House, that might tend towards the Suppression of this present Rebellion, that they approved extream well thereof: And that howsoever they could by no Means remove
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absolutely the Prorogation, yet that they would descend so far to their Satisfaction as to limit it to a shorter Time; and that at present they would give them leave to sit one whole Day, in Case they would immediately fall upon the Work of making a clear Protestation against the Rebels: As also, that they should have Liberty, if they pleased, to make Choice of some Members of their own House, to send down to treat with the Rebels about laying down of Arms: And for their Grievances, that their Lordships would with all readiness receive them, and presently transmit them over to his Majesty for a speedy Redress.

All this was accordingly performed, the Meeting was in the Gallery at *Cork-House*; those of the House of Commons seemed at first to be extremely troubled, when they found there was no Possibility of altering the present Prorogation: But, upon a further Debate, when they came to understand how ready the Lords were to yield to their Satisfaction, and that the Time of the Prorogation should be shortened, they seemed to rest indifferently contented, undertook to make the Protestation in such full and ample Manner as was desired, and that they would fall immediately upon it and make it the Work of the whole Day.

Upon the 17th of *November*, the Lords and Commons met in Parliament, which was held in the usual Place of his Majesty's Castle of *Dublin*, and, for the better Security of the Place, as well as of the Persons of those that were to meet, there was a Guard of Musketers appointed to attend during the Time of their Meeting; but such Care taken that they should carry themselves so free from giving any Offence, as no manner
of

of Umbrage might be taken at their Attendance there.

The Houses were both very thin, there were only in the House of Peers some few *English* Lords, three or four Lords of the *Pale*, and some two or three Bishops. In the House of Commons they took into their Consideration, upon their first Meeting, the framing of the Protestation against the Rebels. But those of the *Popish* Party spake so ambiguously, and handled the Matter so tenderly, as they could not be drawn to stile them by the Name of Rebels: So as they sent up unto the Lords a very meager, cold Protestation against them, which, being in their House taken into Debate, it was strongly contested by the *Protestant* Lords, that they should be stiled *Rebels*, but that was as stiffly opposed by the others. They therefore fell upon a mean betwixt both, which gave a kind of Accommodation, saying, that they had *rebelliously* and *traiterously* raised Arms; and so, both Parties being reasonably satisfied, the Protestation was drawn up and returned back to the House of Commons in this Tenor as followeth.

*The Protestation and Declaration of the
Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Com-
mons in Parliament assembled.*

“ **W**HEREAS the happy and peaceable Estate of this Realm hath been of late, and is still, interrupted by sundry Persons ill-affected to the Peace and Tranquility thereof, who, contrary to their Duty and Loyalty to his Majesty, and against the Laws of God, and the fundamental Laws of the Realm,
Q have

have *traiterously* and *rebelliously* raised Arms, have seized upon some of his Majesty's Forts and Castles, and dispossessed many of his Majesty's faithful Subjects of their Houses, Lands, and Goods, and have slain many of them, and have committed other cruel and inhuman Outrages and Acts of Hostility within this Realm.

The said Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, being justly moved with a right Sense of the said disloyal, *rebellious* Proceedings and Actions of the Persons aforesaid, do hereby protest and declare, that they, the said Lords and Commons, from their Hearts, do detest and abhor the said abominable Actions, and that they shall and will to their uttermost Power maintain the Rights of his Majesty's Crown, and Government of this Realm, and Peace and Safety thereof, as well against the Persons aforesaid, their Abettors, Adherents, as also against all foreign Princes Potentates, and other Persons, and Attempts whatsoever; and, in case the Persons aforesaid do not repent of their aforesaid Actions, and lay down their Arms, and become humble Suitors to his Majesty, for Grace and Mercy, in such convenient Time, and in such Manner and Form as by his Majesty, or the chief Governor or Governors, and Council of this Realm shall be set down, the said Lords and Commons do further protest and declare, that they will take up Arms, and will with their Lives and Fortunes suppress them, and their Attempts, in such a Way, as by the Authority of the Parliament of this Kingdom, with the Approbation of his Most Excellent Majesty, or of his Majesty's chief Governor or Governors
of

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of this Kingdom, shall be thought most effectual.

*Copia vera, exam. per Phil. Percivall.
Cleric. Parliament."*

Both Houses of Parliament sat two Days, and the Time of the Prorogation being shortened unto the 11th of *January*, the Lords made choice of the Lord Viscount *Castelo* to go into *England*, to carry over their Desires to his Majesty, concerning the Means they thought fit to be used for the quenching this present Rebellion: And, beside those Instructions formerly mentioned, he had, as I heard, from the *Popish* Lords, some more private, which were to negotiate the staying such Forces as were intended to be sent out of *England* for that End.

Both Houses joined together to appoint certain Lords, and some Members of the House of Commons to go down to the northern *Rebels*, to understand the Cause of their rising in Arms; and referred them to the Lords Justices for their Instructions, which accordingly they received, together with a Commission under the Great Seal. But the Rebellion having a far deeper Root than was at that Time discovered, this Commission was of little Operation, and the intended Treaty soon vanished. The Northern *Rebels* were then so puffed up with their late Victories over the poor, surprised unresisting *English* in those Parts, and had so deeply drenched their Hands in the Blood of those Innocents, as they thought to carry the whole Kingdom before them, and therefore would yield to no Treaties; but in a most insolent Manner tore the Order of Parliament, together with the Letter sent unto them, and returned a most scornful Answer,

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fully expressing thereby how far they were from any Thought of laying down their Arms, or entertaining any Overtures towards an Accommodation.

Within a few Days after the Adjournment of the Parliament, the Lord *Dillon* of *Costelo*, accompanied with the Lord *Taffe*, embarked for *England*, but, by a most impetuous Storm, were driven into *Scotland*, where they landed and went up to *London*. At the Town of *Ware*, their Papers were seized upon by Directions from the Parliament of *England*, and their Persons committed unto safe Custody. Mr. *Thomas Burk* went over much about the same Time, and certainly upon the same Errand: When the unhappy Breach began first betwixt the King and the Parliament of *England*, and that his Majesty thought fit to retire to *York*, those two Lords found Means to make an Escape, and all three constantly followed the Court, where, in those high Distempers that afterwards happened in *England*, they easily found Means to ingratiate themselves at Court, and had the Opportunity to do those good Offices for their Countrymen, which brought on the Cessation of Arms with them in due Time.

The Lords Justices and Council, by their Letters bearing Date about the 20th of *November*, gave unto the Lord Lieutenant a more certain and full Account of the State of the Kingdom, than they could any Ways do at the first Breaking-out of the Rebellion, and thereby making known the very ill Condition of their present Affairs, they moved that the Supplies of Men, Money, Commanders and Arms, mentioned in their former Letters, might be with all Speed sent over unto them, and that his Lordship

ship would presently repair hither in his own Person, to undertake the Management of the War. About the tenth of the Month of *November*, their Lordships received an Answer from the Lord Lieutenant to their former Letters of the 25th of *October*; whereby he gave them to understand, that he had communicated their Letters to the Lords of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, and that, by Order from their Lordships, he had acquainted both Houses of Parliament with them; that he had also sent to his Majesty still continuing at *Edinburgh* in *Scotland*, to represent the Condition of their Affairs, and that he understood his Majesty had received some Advertisements out of the North of *Ireland* of the present Rebellion there: His Lordship also farther let them know, that his Majesty had referred the whole Business of *Ireland* to the Parliament of *England*; that they had undertaken the Charge and Management of the War; that they had declared they should be speedily and vigorously assisted, and had designed for their present Supplies the Sum of 50,000 *l.* and had taken order for making of all further Provisions necessary for the Service; as may appear by the Order of Parliament made there at that Time, and transmitted over by the Lord Lieutenant, together with his said Letters unto the Lords Justices, by whose Command it was re-printed at *Dublin*, *November* 12, 1641, as here followeth, being intitled,

An Order of the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament in England, concerning Ireland.

“**T**HE *Lords and Commons* in this present Parliament, being advertised of the dangerous Conspiracy and Rebellion in *Ireland*, by the treacherous and wicked Instigation of *Romish Priests and Jesuits*, for the bloody Massacre and Destruction of all *Protestants* living there, and other his Majesty's loyal Subjects of *English Blood*, though of the *Romish Religion*, being antient Inhabitants within several Counties, and Parts of that Realm, who have always, in former Rebellions, given Testimony of their Fidelity to this Crown: And for the utter depriving of his Royal Majesty, and the Crown of *England*, from the Government of that Kingdom, (under Pretence of setting up the *Popish Religion*, have thereupon taken into their serious Consideration, how those mischievous Attempts might be most speedily and effectually prevented, wherein the Honour, Safety, and Interest of this Kingdom, are most nearly and fully concerned. Wherefore they do hereby declare, that they do intend to serve his Majesty with their Lives and Fortunes, for the suppressing of this wicked Rebellion, in such a Way, as shall be thought most effectual, by the Wisdom and Authority of Parliament: And thereupon have ordered and provided for a present Supply of Money, and raising the Number of six thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, to be sent from *England*, being the full Proportion desired by the *Lords Justices*, and his Majesty's

jefty's Council resident in that Kingdom, with a Resolution to add such further Succours, as the Necessity of those Affairs shall require. They have also resolved of providing Arms and Ammunition, not only for those Men, but likewise for his Majesty's faithful Subjects in that Kingdom, with Store of Victuals, and other Necessaries, as there shall be Occasion; and, that these Provisions may more conveniently be transported thither, they have appointed three several Ports of this Kingdom, that is to say, *Bristol*, *Westchester*, and one other in *Cumberland*, where the *Magazines*, and Store-houses shall be kept for the Supply of the several Parts of *Ireland*.

They have likewise resolved to be humble Mediators to his Most Excellent Majesty, for the Encouragement of those *English*, or *Irish*, who shall, upon their own Charges, raise any Number of Horse, or Foot, for his Service against the Rebels, that they shall be honourably rewarded with Lands of Inheritance in *Ireland*, according to their Merits.

And, for the better inducing the Rebels to repent of their wicked Attempts, they do hereby commend it to the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, or, in his Absence, to the Lord Deputy, or Lords Justices there, according to the Power of the Commission granted them in that Behalf, to bestow his Majesty's gracious Pardon to all such, as within a convenient Time (to be declared by the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or Lords Justices, and Council of that Kingdom) shall return to their due Obedience; the greatest Part whereof, they conceive, have been seduced upon false Grounds, by the cunning and subtle Practices of some of the *most malignant Rebels*, Enemies to this State, and to the

reformed Religion; and likewise to bestow such *Rewards*, as shall be thought fit, and published by the said Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or Lords Justices and Council, upon all those who shall arrest the Persons, or bring in the Heads of such Traitors, as shall be personally named in any Proclamation published by the State there. And they do hereby exhort, and require all his Majesty's loving Subjects, both in this, and in that Kingdom, to remember their Duty and Conscience to God, and his Religion, and the great and imminent Danger which will involve this whole Kingdom in general, and themselves in particular, if this abominable Treason be not timely suppressed; and therefore with all Readiness, Bounty, and Chearfulness to confer their Assistance in their Persons, or Estates, to this so important and necessary a Service for the common Good of all.

Jo. Browne, Cleric. Parliament."

About the same Time the Lord Lieutenant, finding that he could not procure so speedy a Dispatch of all Things necessary for the Service of *Ireland*, as would enable him presently to repair thither in his own Person, made the Earl of *Ormond* Lieutenant General of the Forces there, and sent him over a Commission for the same. And the said Earl did within few Days after receive a Letter from his Majesty out of *Scotland*, wherein he was graciously pleased to let him know it was his Pleasure to confer upon him that Charge: There was then likewise brought over the Sum of 20,000 *l.* from the Parliament. The Coin which arrived here were all in *Spanish* Pieces of Eight, which went for 4 *d.* in a Piece
more

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more here than in *England*; and this Gain the Parliament was content the Merchants that undertook the Transportation should make at that Time, in regard of the Charge and Venture they undertook to stand to: It arrived most seasonably, even when all that little Money they had was quite spent in raising and Paying the new Companies, and that they were wholly destitute of all Means to draw in any Contributions towards the releaving of their present Necessities.

There continued daily to repair unto the City of *Dublin* great Numbers of poor distressed *English*, who had been most barbarously stripped, robbed, and despoiled of all their Goods and Substance by the Rebels. Now that it might appear what their Losses were, what Cruelties were acted, what Murders committed, and who were the chief Actors in them throughout the several Provinces, the Lords Justices and Council though fit to issue out a Commission under the Great Seal, directed to certain of the Clergy, to take upon Oath the several Examinations of all such Persons, that, having suffered by this present Rebellion, would think fit to repair unto them, as will appear by the Commission itself, a Copy whereof I have thought fit to insert.

“**C**HARLES, by the Grace of God King of *England, France, and Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. To our well-beloved *Henry Jones*, Dean of *Kilmore*, *Roger Puttock*, *William Hutbock*, *Randal Adams*, *John Sterne*, *William Aldrich*, *Henry Brereton*, and *John Watsons*, Clerks, greeting: Whereas divers wicked and disloyal People have lately risen in Arms in this Kingdom, and robbed and spoiled many
of

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of our good Subjects, *British* and *Protestants*, who have been separated from their several Habitations, and scattered in most lamentable Manner; and for as much as it is needful to take due Examination concerning the same, know ye, That we, reposing special Trust and Confidence in your Care, Diligence, and provident Circumspection, have nominated and appointed you to be our Commissioners, and do hereby give unto you or any two or more of you, full Power and Authority, from time to time to call before you, and examine upon Oath on the holy Evangelists, which hereby we authorize you or any two or more of you to administer, as well to all such Persons as have been robbed and despoiled, as all the Witnesses that can give Testimony therein, what Robberies and Spoils have been committed no, them since the 22d of *October* last or shall hereafter be committed on them, or any of them, what the Particulars were or are, whereof they were or shall be so robbed or spoiled, to what Value, by whom, what their Names are, or where they now or last dwelt that committed those Robberies; on what Day or Night the said Robberies or Spoils were committed, or done; what traiterous or disloyal Words, Speeches, or Actions were then or at any other Time, uttered or committed by those Robbers or any of them, and how often; and all other Circumstances concerning the said Particulars, and every of them: And you, our said Commissioners, are to reduce to Writing all the Examinations which you or any two or more of you shall take as aforesaid; and the same to return to our Justices and Council of this our Realm of *Ireland*, under the Hands and Seals of any two or more of you as aforesaid. Witness our right
trusty

trusty and well-beloved Counsellors, Sir *William Parsons*, Knt. and Bart. and Sir *John Borlace*, Knt. our Justices of our said Realm of *Ireland*. *Dublin*, the 23d of *December*, in the leventeenth Year of our Reign."

The Commissioners above nominated did very seriously address themselves to this Work, employing their Pains therein with great Diligence and Faithfulness; and have so well performed the Charge imposed upon them, as that, by several Examinations, many principal Gentlemen of good Estates were discovered to be the chief Actors in the Depredations of the *British*, and to have committed many most horrid Murders, and other notorious Cruelties, which, through their Industry, will now remain upon Record, but had otherwise been concealed from Posterity, and wrapped up in Oblivion.

The like Commissions were in a short time after sent into *Munster* and *Ulster*: In the Province of *Munster* the Commissioners took great care in the Execution of it, many Examinations of high Concernment were taken by virtue thereof, though they remain as yet concealed, and not returned up according as is required by the said Commissions.

Towards the latter end of *November*, the Lords Justices and Council, considering the miserable Desolations brought upon the whole Kingdom, and the further Calamities threatened by War and Famine, did, by a Proclamation set forth in Print, give strict Charge and Command, that upon every *Friday* a public and religious Fast should be devoutly and piously observed, in and through the whole City and Suburbs of *Dublin*, by all his Majesty's People therein, and that Divine Service
and

and Sermons be celebrated and heard upon the said Day weekly, in every Cathedral, and other Church and Chappel in the said City and Suburbs thereof: And this to be performed as is exercised in the said Proclamation, to the end that the severe Wrath and Indignation of Almighty God may be averted from this Kingdom, his divine Aid and Assistance implored, and that some Relief in these calamitous Times may the better be afforded to such miserable Persons, as these Traitors, by their Rapine and Cruelty, have deprived of their Fortunes, and sent naked and almost famished up to this City.

The Lords Justices and Council, being advertised of the near Approach of the *Rebels* to *Tredagh*, prepared to send down Supplies, both of Men and Ammunition, for the Reinforcement of that Garrison: There were already designed 600 Foot and a Troop of Horse for that Service, and they were almost in a readiness to March, when an Express from Sir *Henry Tichbourn* came up to the Earl of *Ormond*, to let him know the *Rebels* had that Day, being the 21st of *November*, appeared within Sight of the Town.

He conceived they would presently have set down before it, but they advanced no further that Day; only, while their Forces made a Stand there, they sent down a Party of 1300 Foot to *Milliford*, the Lord *Moore's* House, which their Designs was suddenly to surprise; but, contrary to their Expectation, they found there 24 Musketers and 15 Horsemen, who very stoutly defended the House as long as their Powder lasted: The Horsemen when they saw themselves beset so as they could be

be no further serviceable to the Place, opened the Gate, issued out and made their Passage through the midst of the *Rebels*, and so, notwithstanding the Opposition they made, escaped to *Tredagh*: The Foot, having refused to accept of the Quarter at the first offered, resolved to make good the Place to the last Man; they endured several Assaults, slew 140 of the *Rebels*, before their Power failed them; and at last they gave up the Place upon Promise of Quarter, which was not kept; for some of them were killed in cold Blood, all were stripped, and two old decrepit Men slain, the House ransacked, and all the Goods carried away.

Upon the Receipt of Sir *Henry Tichbourn's* Letter, the Lords presently took Order for the marching away of six hundred Men, together with a Troop of Horse towards *Tredagh*: They left not the Town till the 27th of *November*, and such was the Negligence of the Captains and Disorders of the Soldiers, as, notwithstanding they had been three Days in readiness to march, they went no further that Night than *Swoords*, a Village six Miles distant from *Dublin*: the Command of the Foot was committed to Sergeant Major *Roper*, and of the Horse to Sir *Patrick Weams*, who was appointed, with 50 of the Earl of *Ormond's* Troop, to march with those six Companies to *Tredagh*.

The very Day of their Departure from *Dublin*; there was an Advertisement brought unto the Lords, that some Forces of the Rebels were drawn on this side the River of the *Boyne*, and attended with Design to intercept their Passage: Whereupon the Earl of *Ormond*, by Direction from the Lords, dispatched an Express to give them now upon their March notice thereof, and to pass on to Sir *Henry Tichbourn* it highly import-
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ed him to take special Care for the securing of their Passage.

And next Day his Lordship received an Answer from him of that Letter, with Assurance that he would not fail to march out with competent Forces to meet them upon the Way, which he did that very Day accordingly perform, but they marching no further than *Balrudry*, and so lying that Night eight Miles short of *Tredagh*, he missed of them, and so went not out (by what Accident or upon what Reason I know not) the Day following till the News of the Defeat met him at the very Gate of the Town, where he stood with his Men in a readiness to march towards them: The Men being altogether untrained and unaccustomed to travel, and failing of Provision by the Way, which for their Money they could not by any means procure from the Country-people as they marched along, were very much discontented, and, being somewhat tired with their Journey, went on next Day, but in much Disorder, so careless, and so little apprehensive of any Danger, as some had Arms, but no Ammunition about them; others, for their own Ease, committed the Carriage of both to the Carts.

As they passed through *Gormanstone*, the Major went in to give a Visit to the Lord of *Gormanstone*, who told him, that there were some Numbers of Men lay in the Way with an Intent to interrupt their Passage. And this his Lordship knew very well, for the very Night before, as Mr. *Creighton* affirms in his Examination, one of his Grooms went to *Slaine*, where the Rebels were then lodged, and called them out of their Beds to be in a readiness to come and encounter the *English* Forces, now upon their March.

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The Major had likewise other Advertisements to the same Purpose, which he neglected, not so much as acquainting his Captains therewith, as some of them afterwards affirmed. He only caused three Scouts out of the Troop to be sent abroad to make Discovery whether the Passage were clear; two of them returned back, a little before he came to the Bridge of *Julians* Town, assuring him all was clear; the other went on to a House within one Quarter of a Mile of the Place where the Rebels lay, and, while he attended there for his Breakfast, a Boy belonging to the House took his Horse, and riding to the Rebels, gave them Notice of the near Approach of our Forces: The Horse passed the Bridge, and the Foot following turned up into a Field on the Left-hand of the Lane, where, by reason of a great Mist that suddenly fell, they discovered not the Rebels, till they were almost within Musket-shot of them.

The Major drew his Men presently into *Battalia*, but the Horse, as some of the Foot that escaped affirm, wheeled about without charging any Part of the Rebels Forces, who now furiously approached with a great Shout; and a Lieutenant giving out the unhappy Word of *Countermarch*, all the Men, possessed as it were with a pannic Fear, began somewhat confusedly to march back; but were so much amazed with a second Shout given by the Rebels, who, seeing them in Disorder, followed close on, as, notwithstanding they had gotten into a Ground of great Advantage, they could not be persuaded to stand a Charge, but betook themselves to their Heels, and so the Rebels fell sharply on, as their Manner is, upon the Execution.

Sir

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Sir *Patrick Weames*, without the Loss of one Horse, passed on safely unto *Tredagh*: The Major, with two of the Captains more, and about 100 of their Men, made an Escape thither likewise: The other three Captains, with all the rest of the Soldiers that were *English*, were there cut off; they spared very few or none that fell into their Hands, but such as were *Irish*, whose Lives they preserved.

The Arms of the whole six hundred they possessed themselves of, as likewise of all their Ammunition and Carriages, and so highly were the *Rebels* encouraged with this Defeat given to his Majesty's Forces, as the whole *Pale* began presently to waver; they thought the Kingdom their own, and that the *English* would in all Parts fall before them, as those poor ill-conducted Sheep had unhappily done.

And this is a true Relation, as near as I could collect it from the Mouths of those that were present, of that famous Victory so much boasted of by the *Irish*, whereunto the Inexperience of the *English* Commanders, and the Disorders of the common Soldiers, who were then but newly taken up, and had never seen any Service, contributed far more than any Skill or Courage shewed by the *Rebels*, which they had only Opportunity at that Time to express by a loud Shout: Besides, they were treble their Number, and had for their Leaders *Roger Moore*, *Hugh Birne*, and *Philip O'Rely*, the two last Persons who had been trained in the Wars abroad under the *Spanish* Discipline, and were of greatest Experience among them: They brought down a great Part of those Forces out of the Counties of *Cavan* and *Monaghan*, and, as soon as they came within the River of *Boyne*, great Numbers of

the

the ordinary Churles of the *Pale* adjoined themselves unto their Men, and so made up a Body sufficient to perform that Service.

The News of this unhappy Defeat was brought the very same Day, being *Monday* the 29th of *November*, at Evening, to the Lords Justices as they sat in Council: It troubled them very much, and as it was a Matter of great Rejoicing among the *Popish* Inhabitants of the City, so it bred a general Sorrow and Consternation among the *English* and *Protestants*: It happened in a very ill Season, the late made Colonels were but then in raising of their Men; and such Companies as were compleated were, by the Lords, the same Day of the Marching of the 600 Men to *Tredagh*, commanded out under Sir *Charles Coot* into the County of *Wiclow*, for the repressing the Insolencies of the *Birnes* and the *Tooles* towards the poor *English*, whom they began to fall upon most furiously, stripping, murdering, and driving them all out of that Territory, as soon as they had taken in the King's Fort in that County, called *Carew's Fort*, and possessed themselves of the chief Places of Strength belonging to the *English* Gentlemen there.

He marched to the Town of *Wiclow*, where he caused some few Men and one Woman to be executed, they being found upon Examination guilty of the late Spoils committed most barbarously upon the *English* there, and the very Cloaths of an *Englishwoman*, that was stripped, being found upon the Back of that *Irishwoman* that was there hanged.

In his Return *Luke Toole*, with near a 1000 *Irish* under his Command, encountred him, but he quickly made them fly and take to the next

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Bog with the Loss of some few of their Men: and so he returned with all possible Speed to *Dublin*, the Lords having sent him Notice of the late Defeat given to the Forces sent to *Tredagh*.

As soon as he arrived, he applied himself very carefully to the securing of the Town, which now began to be more desperately threatened than ever, by the near Approaches of the *Rebels*: And so great were the Disorders then in the City, so inconsiderable the Forces raised, the *English* Inhabitants so strangely dismayed, the *Papists* so highly raised in Spirit and Courage, as had the Commanders of the *Rebels* drawn those Forces together, as they had in Readiness on both Sides the River *Boyne* for the Siege of *Tredagh*, and so, marching up to *Dublin*, had taken the Advantage of the present Distractions and forward Affections which they would undoubtedly have found there to assist them, they had, in all human Probability, made themselves Masters of the City, and might so straitly have begirt the Castle, as would within a very short Time have endangered the Surrender of it. But it pleased God to infatuate their Counsels; the strong Opinion they had, that they should presently carry *Tredagh*, and so possess themselves of all the Arms and Ammunition they had in that Town, caused them to fix their Resolutions there, and to set up their Rest upon the obtaining that Place. In this, as in many other wonderful Acts of divine Providence, which I then observed with great Admiration, it pleased God to appear even miraculously in the Preservation of the City and Castle of *Dublin*, with the poor Remainders of
English

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English and *Protestants*, who had there taken Sanctuary.

And now the Lords and Gentlemen of the *Pale* thought it high time to discover themselves and their Affections to the Cause; they certainly had not only long entertained a Defection in their Thoughts, but were, as the several fore-mentioned Examinations testify, the first Contrivers and Bringers-in of the Northern Rebels into this execrable Plot; they had now likewise drawn them into the *Pale*, and therefore they could not hope now much longer to walk under a Mask, and entertain the State with further Professions of their Loyalty; they had gotten a competent Proportion of Arms and Ammunition out of his Majesty's Store into their own Possession; they saw now the Northern *Rebels* advanced within the River *Boyne*, with very considerable Forces to strengthen their Party, and, by the late Encounter and successful Victory they had therein, they pleased their Fancies with confident Conceits of certainly prevailing, if they would now declare themselves by a public Conjunction in the common Cause, and, raising such Numbers of Men and Quantities of Provision, as the plentiful Circuit of the *Pale* did afford, would prosecute the War so happily begun and so successfully managed hitherto.

These and several other Considerations working very powerfully among the Lords and chief Gentlemen of the *Pale*, they did, within very few Days after the late Defeat, solemnly proceed on to the actual Consummation of their long-meditated Revolt: For the Manner, Place, Time, and all other Circumstances, I shall refer the Reader to this ensuing Relation, given in

upon Oath, *March 16, 1641*, before Sir *Robert Meredith*, Knt. Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, in the Examination of *Edward Dodwall*, Esq; a Gentleman of the *Pale*; one very well esteemed among them; one that was present at all their Meetings, and deeply engaged in all their Councils and Actions.

He deposeth, that, some four or five Days after the Defeat of the *English* Soldiers at the Bridge of *Gellianstown*, there issued a Warrant from the Lord of *Gormanstone* to the Sheriff of the County, for a general Meeting of all the County at *Dulick*; but the Place of Meeting was afterwards chauged to the *Hill of Crofty*, where all the Lords and Gentry of the Country met, viz. the Earl of *Fingale*, the Lord Viscount *Gormanstone*, the Lord of *Slaine*, the Lord of *Lowth*, the Lord of *Dunsany*, the Lord of *Trimblestonc*, the Lord *Netterville*: And of the Gentry, Sir *Patrick Barnwall*, Sir *Christopher Bellow*, *Patrick Barnwall* of *Kilbrew*, *Nicholas Darcy* of *Plattin*, *James Batb* of *Acharn*, *Garret Ailmer* the Lawyer, *Cusake* of *Gormanstone*, *William Malone* of *Leshmullin*, *Sedgrave* of *Kileglau*, *Linch* of the *Knos*, *Lynam* of *Adamstown*, *Laurence Doudall* of *Atklumney*, *Nicholas Dowdall* of *Brownstown*, this Examinant's Brother, and him, this Examinant, with a Multitude of others, to the Number of 1000 Persons at the least, whose Names he, this Examinant, cannot for the present call to mind: And, after about two or three Hours spent upon the said *Hill of Crofty*, by the Lords and Gentry aforesaid, there came towards them Colonel *Mahowne*, *Philip O Rely*, *Hugh Boy Rely*, *Roger Moore*, *Hugh Birne*, and Captain *Fox*, attended on with a Guard of Musketers.

And

And this Examinant saith, " That, as soon as the Parties drew near unto the said *Hill*, the Lords and Gentry of the *Pale* rode towards them, and the Lord of *Gormanstone*, being one of the first, spake unto them, and demanded of them, Why, and for what Reason, they came armed into the *Pale*? Unto which *Roger Moore* made present Answer, That the Ground of their coming thither and taking up Arms, was for the Freedom and Liberty of their Consciences, the Maintenance of his Majesty's Prerogative, in which they understood he was abridged, and the making the Subjects in this Kingdom as free as those in *England* were.

Whereupon the said Lord of *Gormanstone* desired to understand from them truly and faithfully, Whether those were not Pretences, and not the true Grounds indeed of their so doing? And likewise, Whether they had not some other private Ends of their own? Which being by all denied, upon Profession of their Sincerity, his Lordship then told them, Seeing these be your true Ends, we will likewise join with you therein; unto which Course all agreed. And thereupon it was publickly and generally declared, That whosoever should deny to join with them, or refuse to assist them therein, they would account him as an Enemy, and to the utmost of their Power labour his Destruction."

And this Examinant saith, " That, after the Agreement so made as aforesaid, there issued another Warrant to the Sheriff of the County of *Meath*, to summon all the Lords and Gentry of the County of *Meath*, to be at the *Hill of Taragh* about a Week after; and accordingly there met at the same Place the Earl of *Fingale*, the Lord of *Gormanstone*, and the rest of

the Lords and Gentlemen aforementioned, together with Sir *Thomas Nugent*, and *Nicholas Plunket* the Lawyer, *Birford* the Lawyer, and a Multitude of others; and the Work of that Day was, first to make Answer to a Summons made by the State for the calling of the Lords unto *Dublin*; which Answer was brought ready drawn by the Lord of *Gormanstone*, and presented by his Lordship, and, being perused by the said Counsel at Law, was signed by the Lords."

In this Manner was this Transaction most solemnly consummated betwixt *Leinster* and *Ulster*; *Valence* and *Brabant*, as Sir *Phelim O Neale* styles them in his *Characteristical* Letter before mentioned, sent to *Owen Roe O Neale* in *Flanders*, were now publicly united together in that great Assembly. The Lord Viscount *Gormanstone* on the one Side, and *Roger Moore* on the other, had both been long tampering about the Drawing of this most important Work to the Form it now received, they had at length brought it into Perfection, they two had the Glory of it, and appeared the great public Instruments of this powerful Union.

The Lords and chief Gentlemen of the *Pale*, having thus far declared themselves, became so high and presuming, as they little valued what was done or commanded by the State at *Dublin*. They now wholly applied their Endeavours to make such Preparatives towards the War, as might strengthen their Party, which as it now stood in Conjunction with the Northern *Rebels*, they beheld as invincible, and their Power not to be resisted by the inconsiderable Forces drawn together by the Lords Justices and Council at *Dublin*.

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Several Gentlemen, who in the several Counties of the *Pale* were made Captains, and had received Arms from the State for their Companies, departed from their Obedience, and addressed themselves and their Companies wholly to the Service of the Rebels: *Nicholas White*, Esq; Son and Heir to Sir *Nicholas White* of *Lilip*, was the first that gave the Example about the 2d of *December*; but he carried the Matter so handsomely, as his Company ran away to the Rebels, as he pretended, without his Consent or even his Knowledge, any longer Time before their Departure, than to give him Opportunity to come and acquaint the State therewith, and his own Disability to hinder the same: But, before it was possible to use any Means of Prevention, the Men were all gone with their Arms and Ammunition to the Rebels. Many of the other Captains desired no such fine Cover for their Intentions, but delivered themselves and their Arms up to be disposed as they should direct, without any further Scruple or Complement to the State.

Whereupon the Lords, finding how notoriously they were abused by the very great Confidence reposed in such Gentlemen of the *Pale*, as being made Captains, had received Arms from them, and perceiving what Course they began now to steer, and how they were resolved to imploy their own Arms against them, they took such Order, and with such Celerity and Diligence made Stay of several of those Arms, which were delivered out for the Use of the *Pale*, as, of the 1700 Arms distributed among the several Counties, thereof they recovered again into their Hands 950.

And now, by reason the Northern Rebels had settled their Camp within the River of *Boyne*, and so lay betwixt *Tredagh* and the City of *Dublin*, all Entercourse in the *Pale* was interrupted, the Passages stopped up, and the Lords Justices and Council understood very little or nothing of any Proceedings held there: They therefore, finding their Dangers daily to increase, through the near Approach of the Rebels unto the City of *Dublin*, the continual Affronts, and new Scorns the State daily received from them, their own Want of Strength to repress their bold Attempts, or to preserve the poor *English* round about them out of their bloody Hands, resolved now in these high Extremities, to try the Effects of those large Protestations and great Professions of Loyalty the Lords of the *Pale* had lately made unto them, and to give them a fair Opportunity of rendering a most acceptable Service to his Majesty and the State here.

For this End therefore they determined to call a grand Council of all the Lords, which resided within any convenient Distance of the City of *Dublin*, clearly and freely to represent unto them the ill Condition of their Affairs, and how highly it approved them in respect of their own particular Safety, as well as for the Preservation of the whole Kingdom, not only to contribute their best Advice and Counsel, but even all the Forces they could any Ways raise towards the Beating of the Northern Rebels out of the *Pale*. Several Letters of Summons were accordingly writ and sent away to the Earl of *Fingale*, the Lord Viscount *Gormanstone*, and the rest of the Lords of the *Pale*. The Tenor of them here ensueth.

After

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After our very hearty Commendations to your Lordship; for as much as we have present Occasion to confer with you, concerning the present Estate of the Kingdom, and the Safety thereof in these Times of Danger, we pray and require your Lordship to be with us here on the eighth Day of this Month, at which Time others of the Peers are also to be here: And this being to no other End, we bid your Lordship very heartily farewell. From his Majesty's Castle of Dublin, the third of *December*, 1641.

Your very Loving Friends,

*William Parson,
Ormondoffory,
R. Dillon,
Ge. Shirley,
Rob. Meredith.*

*John Borlacy,
Ant. Medensis,
Ad. Loftus,
J. Temple,*

To our very good Lord George Earl of Kildare.

The like Letters eodem Die to these several Persons following :

*Earl of Ormond,
Earl of Antrim,
Earl of Fingale,
Vis. Gormanstone,
Vis. Neterville,
Vis. Fitzwilliam,*

*Lo. Trimbleston,
Lord Dunsany,
Lord Slaine,
Lord of Hoath,
Lord Lowth,
Lord Lambert.*

These Letters were presently sent away: But the Lords of the *Pale* being otherways engaged, and having before, or much about the Time they came unto their Hands, though the Lords knew very little, and that very uncertainly of it,

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it, made that public Combination with the *Ulster Rebels* before mentioned, durst no more adventure their Persons within the City of *Dublin* ; But, after their Meeting at the *Hill of Crofty*, appointed another Meeting at the *Hill of Tarab*, and from thence they sent an Answer unto the Lords, which, as Mr. *Dowdall* testifies, was brought thither by the Lord of *Gormanstone* ready drawn up, and there only signed, and so sent away. The Copy of the Letter here followeth :

May it please your Lordships,

WE have received your Letters of the 3d of this Instant, intimating, that you had present Occasions to confer with us, concerning the present State of the Kingdom, and the Safety thereof in these Times of Danger, and requiring us to be with you there on the eighth Day of this Instant, we give your Lordships to understand, That we have heretofore presented ourselves before your Lordships, and freely offered our Advice and Furtherance towards the Particulars aforesaid, which was by you neglected, which gave us Cause to conceive, that our Loyalty was suspected by you. We give your Lordships further to understand, that we have received certain Advertisement, that Sir *Charles Coot*, Knt. at the Council Board, hath uttered some Speeches tending to a Purpose and Resolution, to execute upon those of our Religion a general Massacre, by which we are all deterred to wait on your Lordships, not having any Security for our Safety from these threatned Evils, or the Safety of our Lives ; but do rather think it fit to stand upon our best Guard, until we hear from your Lordships, how we shall be

secu-

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secured from these Perils. Nevertheless, we all protest that we are and will continue both faithful Advisers, and resolute Furtherers of his Majesty's Service concerning the present State of the Kingdom, and the Safety thereof to our best Abilities: and so, with the said Tender of our humble Service, we remain,

Your Lordships humble Servants,

*Fingale,
Dunsany,
Lowth,*

Gormanstone,
Nettervill,
Trimblestown.

Slane,
Oliver,

To the right Honourable our very good Lords
the Lords Justices and Council of *Ireland*.

Dublin, Decemb. 7.
Received 11, 1641.

In Answer to this Letter, the Lords Justices and Council, out of their unfeigned Desires to give unto those Lords all due Satisfaction, and to remove those Jealousies and great Misunderstandings now grown up between them, thought fit, by Way of Proclamation, to publish and declare to them and all others of his Majesty's good Subjects of the *Romish* Religion, ' That
' they never heard Sir *Charles Coot*, or any
' other utter at the Board or elsewhere, any such
' Speeches tending to a Purpose or Resolution
' to execute upon those of their Profession, or
' upon any other, a general Massacre, or any
' Massacre at all, and that they never intended
' so to dishonour his Majesty and this State, or
' wound their own Consciences, as to entertain
' the least Thought of acting so odious, impi-
' ous,

'ous, and detestable a Thing upon any Persons
 'whatsoever; and that if any Proof can be
 'made of any such Words spoken by any Per-
 'son whatsoever, that he shall be severely pu-
 'nished. And therefore, that they did pray
 'and require the said Noblemen to attend them
 'at the Board, on the 17th Day of *December*,
 'that they might confer with them: And, for
 'the Security of their Repair unto them, they
 'did thereby give to all and every of those No-
 'blemen, the Word and Assurance of the State,
 'that they might then securely and safely come
 'unto them, without Danger of any Trouble
 'or Stay whatsoever, from them who neither
 'had nor have any Intention to wrong or hurt
 'them.'

But now it began to appear unto the Lords
 Justices and Council, how far they were en-
 gaged with the Northern Rebels. By the Exa-
 minations taken of some *English*, who made
 their Escape out of those Parts, the News of
 their solemn Contract and Association before
 mentioned was brought up to *Dublin*; and they
 then well enough discerned the main Obstructi-
 on in their coming, the Cause of their Tergi-
 versations, and what good Reason they had to
 find out Excuses to palliate their Disloyalty.
 They then expected no other Fruits of their
 Proclamation than what it produced; neither
 indeed had it any other Effect and Operation
 among them, than that they did, with great
 Boldness and Confidence, by Way of Answer
 thereunto, write back a Letter to the Lords Ju-
 stices, wherein they pretend themselves so af-
 frighted with Sir *Charles Coote's* Severity and De-
 portment, as they dare not adventure themselves
 within the Confines of his Government: They

heavily

heavily impose upon him the inhuman Acts perpetrated, as they term them, in the County of *Wicklow*, the Massacre of *Santry*, and the Burning of Mr. *King's* House, and his whole Substance at *Clantarfe*; and, with a little kind of Cunning, they seem to pretend a Breach of the publick Faith, but would transfer the Blame from the Lords Justices to Sir *Charles Coot*; and thereupon desire no sinister Construction may be made of their Stay, and that they may have some Commissioners appointed to confer with them, and so conclude with some Professions of their Loyalty and Readiness to give their Advices for the Advancement of his Majesty's Service, and the common Peace of the Kingdom.

This was an Answer, such as might justly be expected to come from Persons so deeply now involved in the Guilt of so high a *Rebellion*. It is no Wonder that they were thus put to their Shifts, and are forced to take up such fond Excuses, and imaginary Pretences for their Disloyalty: For they could not in their own Consciences, but be most sensible of the very great Indulgence used by the Lords towards them: They had not failed in several Particulars to manifest the great Confidence they had in their good Affections: They had refrained from giving them any Manner of Provocation or Jealousy: They had forborn the doing some Acts of Hostility upon some *Rbels* among them, because they would not give them any the least Cause of Complaint: And, notwithstanding it appeared by the Examination of *Mac Mahone* and several others, that they were privy to the first Plot, yet the Lords proceeded with so much Caution and Tendernefs towards them, hoping that,

that, now the Conspirators had failed in the main Part of their Design, which was the Surprisal of the Castle of *Dublin*, that they might yet reclaim them thereby, and draw them into a just Concurrence with them, for the Preservation of the Kingdom, out of the Hands of those bloody Northern *Rebels*, who in the Beginning were the only Appearers in the Cause: But all was to no Purpose, they were too eagerly ingaged to recede; therefore they ran now violently on, and drew along all the chief Gentlemen likewise of the *Pale* with them.

And now it shall be declared, how the chief Gentlemen of the *Pale* began and proceeded on to act their Parts: About the Beginning of *December*, presently after the Defeat given to the *English* Soldiers in their March to *Tredagh*, *Luke Netterville*, second Son to the Lord Viscount *Netterville*, caused a Proclamation to be made in the Market-place of *Lusk*, requiring all the chief Gentlemen and other Inhabitants thereabouts not to fail, upon Pain of Death, presently to repair unto *Swoords*, a Town within six Miles of the City of *Dublin*: And, within a few Days after, did meet there the said *Luke Netterville*, *George Blackney*, Esq; *George King*, *John Talbot*, *Rich. Golding*, *Tho. Russel*, *Christ. Russel*, *Patrick Caddel*, *Will. Travers*, *Richard Barnwell*, *Laurence Bealing*, *Holywood of Arstaine*, and several other Gentlemen, who began to gather great Numbers of Men about them, and, putting such Arms into their Hands as they had in readiness, at the present made their Provisions to entertain a settled Camp within that Place.

The Lords understanding of this unlawful tumultuous Assembly; and deeply apprehending
the

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the mischievous Consequences that might ensue thereupon, sent this Warrant following in a fair Manner, requiring thereby their present Repair unto them.

By the Lords Justices and Council.

William Parsons,

Jo. Burlace.

WHereas we have received Information, that *Luke Netterville*, Esq; *Blackney* of *Rickenbore*, Esq; and *George King*, of *Clontarfe*, Gent. and other Gentlemen of the County of *Dublin*, with great Numbers of Men are assembled together in a Body at *Swoords* and thereabouts, within six Miles of this City, for what Intent we know not, but apparently to the Terror of his Majesty's good Subjects; and, although considering the Unseasonableness of this Time chosen for such an Act without our Privy, whatsoever their Pretence is, a Construction might be made thereof to their Disadvantage; yet, we being willing to make an indulgent Interpretation of their Actions, in regard of the good Opinion we have of the Loyalty of those Gentlemen, who, it seems, are Principals amongst them in that Assembly; and conceiving there may be some Mistaking in that Enterprize, we have chosen the rather hereby to charge the said *Luke Netterville*, *Blackney King*, and all the Persons there assembled with them, upon their Duties of Allegiance to his Majesty, immediately upon Sight hereof to separate, and not to unite any more in that Manner, without Direction from us: And that the said *Netterville*, *Blackney*, *King*, and six others of the principal Persons of those, who are so assembled at *Swoords*,

or

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or thereabouts, as aforesaid, do appear before us to morrow Morning at Ten of the Clock, to shew the Cause of their assembling in that Manner: Whereof they may not fail at their extrem Perils. Given at his Majesty's Castle of *Dublin*, *Deceub.* 1641.

Ormond Ossory,
Cha. Lambart,
Charles Coot.

Rob. Dillon,
Jo. Temple,

But they were so far from rendering Obedience to the Commands they received from the Lord, that they kept the Messengnr in Restraint a Day and a Night, threatening to hang him; and, after returned a scornful peremptory Answer, signifying unto their Lordships, ' That they were constrained to meet there together, for the Safety of their Lives; that they were put in so great a Terror by the rising out of some Horse-Troops and Foot-Companies at *Dublin*, who killed four *Catholics* for no other Reason, than that they bore the Name of that Religion, as they durst not, as they pretended, stay in their Houses: And therefore resolved to continue together, till they were assured by their Lordships of the Safety of their Lives, before they run the Hazard thereof, by manifesting their Obedience due unto their Lordships.'

These were the very Words and Expressions used by those Gentlemen in their Answer; and accordingly they still continued together, increasing their Number of Men, and threatening to come down and encamp themselves at *Clantarf*, a little Village standing upon the very Harbour of *Dublin*; where some of their Followers

lowers had already, at a Low-water, seized upon a Bark lying there, and carried all the Commodities they found in her; a great Part whereof they had put into the then Dwelling-House of the said *King*, to whom that Village did belong,

This was an Act of so high a Strain, and so eminently tending to the present Ruin of the City, as it required a sudden Remedy; Delays were dangerous in a matter of such perilous Consequence; and the Lords Justices and Council plainly perceived, that, if the *Rebels* were suffered to come down and lodge there, they might, without much Difficulty, make themselves Masters of those few Barks then in the Harbour, (the State having at that Time no Ships of force to guard them) and so put themselves in a fair Way, if they could bring the *Wexford* Ships about to join with them, to block up the Harbour, and stop the coming in to their Relief all such Succours as should be designed in *England* to land at that Port.

Whereupon the Lords, finding that the said *King* continued still with *Luke Nutterville*, and those other Gentlemen, at *Swoords*; that they carried themselves with such high Contumacy, as that, disdaining to render any Obedience to their Warrant, they neither made their Departure from that Place, disbanded their Men, nor so much as pretended to repair to them according to their Commands at the Time prefixed therein, it was thought high time to take some other Course with them. And therefore, about four Days after, the Day first set down by the Lords from their Appearing before them, and the very next Day after another Proclamation published for their immediate Separation, the

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Lords Justices and Council made this ensuing Order, directed to the Earl of Ormond, Lieutenant General of his Majesty's Forces in Ireland.

By the Lords Justices and Council.

William Parsons, Jo. Burlace.

‘ Forasmuch as divers of the Inhabitants of
‘ *Clantarfe, Rabeny, and Kilbarrock*, have declared
‘ themselves *Rebels*, and having robbed and
‘ spoiled some of his Majesty's good Subjects,
‘ are now assembled thereabouts in Armies in
‘ great Numbers, mustering and training of
‘ their rebellious Multitudes, to the Terror and
‘ Danger of his Majesty's good Subjects, as
‘ well at Land as at Sea; which their Boldness
‘ is acted in such Manner as to put Scorns and
‘ Affronts upon this State and Government,
‘ they acting such Depredations even before our
‘ Faces, and in our own View, as it were in des-
‘ pight of us: It is therefore ordered, That
‘ our very good Lord, the Earl of *Ormond* and
‘ *Offory*, Lieutenant General of the Army, do
‘ forthwith send out a Party of Soldiers of
‘ Horse and Foot, to fall upon those *Rebels* at
‘ *Clantarfe* and thereabouts, who, in such dis-
‘ dainful Manner, stand to out-face and dare
‘ us, and to endeavour to cut them off, as well
‘ for Punishment as Terror to others, and to
‘ burn and spoil the *Rebels* Houses and Goods:
‘ And to prevent their further annoying of the
‘ shipping going out and coming in and lying
‘ in Harbour, those Soldiers are to bring up,
‘ or cause to be brought up, to the new *Crane*
‘ at *Dublin*, such of the Boats and Vessels now
‘ lying

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‘ lying there as they can upon the sudden, and
 ‘ to burn, spoil, sink, and make unserviceable
 ‘ the rest.’ Given at his Majesty’s Castle of
Dublin, Dec. 14, 1641.

<i>Ormond Ossory,</i>	<i>Rob. Dillon.</i>
<i>Cha. Lambart,</i>	<i>Ad. Loftus,</i>
<i>Jo. Temple,</i>	<i>Cha. Coote,</i>
<i>Fran, Willoughby.</i>	

According to their Lordships Directions, the Earl of *Ormond* gave present Order to Sir *Charles Coot*, to march out privately with some Forces unto *Clantarfe*, which he did without any Noise, and, meeting there with no Opposition, he only suffered his Men to pillage the Town, whereof they burnt some Part, as also Part of Mr. *King’s* House, in which much of the Goods were found that had been taken out of the Bark before-mentioned: And this was the first Expedition that the Forces, newly raised in *Dublin* made after the Defeat of the 600 Men in their Passage to *Tredagh*.

As for the Massacre at *Santry*, mentioned in the Answer from the Lords of the *Pale*, and obruded to the World, as a just Pretence to deter them from waiting on the Lords at *Dublin*, it was no other than this: Information was given to some of the Officers of the Army, that there had been a Robbery newly committed by certain *Rebels*, at the House of one *Smith*, called the *Buskin*, within five Miles of the City; and that if a Party of Solders might be sent forth, the Informer offered to bring them upon those *Rebels*, as also upon other *Rebels*, who had lately murdered one Mr. *Derisk Hubert*, a *Dutch* Merchant at the *Skerries*: Whereupon two Officers

with 40 Foot were sent out with Direction to fall upon those *Rebels*: They went directly to *Santry*, and there finding some Strangers with Weapons lodged in suspicious Places, they slew four of them, who, as was conceived, were criminal Offenders, and one of them after, upon further Enquiry, found to be a *Protestant*.

But how fairly soever this Matter was carried, yet they resolved to make use of it for the present, by Way of Justification of their Disloyalty: And, having so far publicly declared themselves, they held it not fit to sit idle any longer, but began to put the whole Circuit of the *Pale* into a Posture of War, and to make all such Preparatives as might enable them, by the powerful Assistance they had out of the North, presently to take in *Tredagh*, and afterwards to march up to *Dublin*, and there make themselves Masters of that City and Castle: A Work, as now it stood, represented unto them not likely to prove less glorious than successful, and easy to be atchieved: They had for this End many publick Meetings among themselves, as also with the chief Commanders of the Northern *Rebels*.

In the first Place, they declared the Lord Viscount *Gormanstone*, General of the Forces to be raised in the *Pale*, *Hugh Birne* Lieutenant-General, the Earl of *Fingale* General of the Horse: Then they gave Power to those Lords to nominate Captains in several Baronies, to be respectively appointed out of them, and likewise to raise Soldiers in every such Barony, viz. eight Soldiers out of a Plow-land, which contains, according to the antient Estimation, 120 Acres, and every Plow-land to maintain the Soldiers to be sent out by them: The Barony

rony of *Duleek* was assigned to the Lord of *Gormanstone*, the Barony of *Screeve* and *Desse* to the Earl of *Fingale*, the Barony of the *Navan* to the Lord of *Trimblestone*, *Kells* to the Lord *Dunsany*, *Ratogh* and *Dunboine* to Sir *Richard Barnewall*, of *Crickestown*, Bart. and *Patrick Barnwell* of *Cilbrew*; and by these Persons, several Captains were appointed, and Numbers of Soldiers raised, according to the Orders set down at the General-meeting.

There were also Warrants issued out by the Lord *Gormanstone*, whereby those Persons appointed to raise the Men, and to furnish them with Provisions for their Entertainment, were required, upon Pain of Death, to send them out: Other Warrants were likewise sent out to other Persons, who were appointed Overseers for the threshing out of all the *Protestants* Corn, which was assigned generally through the *Pale* to be applied towards the Maintenance of their Army.

The next Work was to make a constant Provision of all manner of Necessaries for the Entertainment of such Forces as were already brought down out of the North, as well as those raised in the *Pale*, and set down at the Siege of *Tredagh*: And for this Service they seized the whole Country thereabouts, and ordered what Proportions of Corn and Numbers of Cattle should be brought down out of every Part, for the victualling of those that lay encamped about the Town: There was allotted to every Company consisting of a hundred Men, for their daily Allowance, one Beef, and half a Barrel of Corn: And, that they might with the more Facility bring in the Country-people to furnish their Army with these Proportions, they made not only

Prohibitions, that no Corn should be carried to *Dublin*, but so blocked up the Ways as the poor Churles, that lived somewhat distant from the City, could not carry their Corn thither without apparent Danger; whereby the Market began to be very ill provided, and great Want and Scarcity was much feared, by reason of the large Accession of People come from several Parts of the Kingdom up unto the City for Safety.

Whereupon the Lords Justices and Council made Proclamations to be published, That all such, as had Corn remaining within some few Miles Distance, should, as their usual Manner was, bring it to the Market at *Dublin*, and they should receive ready Money for the same; in case they did not that, they would presently send out Parties and burn their Corn as it stood in the Haggards, and so prevent the Use the *Rebels* intended to make of it for the victualling of their Army.

By this Means the City was indifferently well supplied all that Winter with Corn, the Country-people, though otherways very malicious against the *English* and *Protestants* being content, though with much Hazard, to adventure the bringing their Corn, where they sold it at a good Rate for ready Money, rather than to suffer it to be threshed out by Warrants from the Lord of *Gormanstone*, for the Use of the *Irish* Army then lying before *Tredagh*.

But, while they continue their fruitless and unprofitable Attempts there, having neither Skill, Courage, Experience, nor any Means to bring about their impetuous Desires and fond Endeavours for the taking in of that Town, I shall briefly represent a View of the sad Estate of our Affairs in *Dublin*. It was now almost full

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full two Months since the Breaking-out of this Rebellion; the Lords Justices and Council, out of their deep Apprehensions of a general Revolt, of all the *Irish* through the Kingdom, did, in the very Beginning, with much Earnestness solicit the present Sending-over of Succours out of *England*; and, as soon as they began to make a little further Discovery into the Strength of this Conspiracy, and found their own Wants and utter Disabilities to make any long or considerable Opposition against the universal Power of the whole Body of the *Irish*, as it then began to appear unto them, firmly united with all the *Old English*, that were of the *Romish* Profession, incorporated into their Party throughout *Ireland*, they did, with much more Earnestness, by their frequent Letters and several Agents, represent unto his Majesty and the Parliament of *England* the very ill, even desperate Condition they were in; and therefore desired, that Supplies both of Men, Money, and all kind of warlike Provisions, might be sent away with all speed unto them; declaring, that, unless they received them presently, and that in great Proportions, they were not able longer to subsist, as they stood now environed on all sides with Multitudes of the *Rebels*; but had just Reason to apprehend their own present Ruin, and the inevitable Loss of the whole Kingdom: And, because they conceived the Levies in *England* could not be so suddenly made, nor the Men so easily transported from thence into the North of *Ireland*, (where the *Rebels* appeared in greatest Numbers, and had, by their most unparalleled Cruelty towards the *English*, done most Mischief) as out of *Scotland*, they made a Proposition to the Lord Lieutenant, to move

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both his Majesty and the Parliament, that 10,000 *Scots* might be presently raised and sent over into those Parts. This they pressed with much Earnestness, representing the very great Terror the meer *Irish* had of that Nation; that their Bodies would better sort with that Climate, endure more Hardship, and with less Distemper undergo the Toil and Miseries of an *Irish* War; that the Transportation would be made with much more Facility and less Charge, it being not above three or four Hours sail from some Parts of *Scotland* into the North of *Ireland*: That the Kingdom of *Scotland* had been lately in Arms, and so had all Provisions necessary for the furnishing of their Men for this Expedition in Readiness: And, lastly, they having so good a Foundation in the Multitude of their own Countrymen settled there already, would, no doubt, undertake the Work with all Alacrity, and vigorously prosecute the War with such Sharpness, as might testify their deep Resentment of the horrid Cruelties, exercised upon so many thousands of their own Nation by that barbarous People.

These Letters arrived very opportunely, about the Time of the King's Return from *Edinburgh* to the Parliament of *England*, then sitting at *Westminster*; and there being even then two *Scotish* Lords come out of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, to treat with the Parliament of *England* concerning the sending Forces from thence for the Relief of *Ireland*, his Majesty sent to the Lords and Commons to give them notice of their Arrival, and withal desired, ' That certain Commissioners appointed by himself, and both Houses of Parliament, might be presently named to treat with them, and from time

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to time, give an Account of their Proceedings to his Majesty and both Houses.

This Motion was with great Readiness yielded unto; and it was ordered, ' That the Earl of *Bedford*, the Earl of *Leicester*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, the Lord *Howard of Estric*; nominated by the House of Peers; and *Nathaniel Fiennes*, Esq; Sir *William Ermin*, Bart. Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Knt. *John Hampden*, Esq; nominated by the House of Commons, should treat with the *Scottish* Commissioners concerning the Affairs of *Ireland*; and that there should be a Commission granted unto them to this Effect, under the Great Seal of *England*, together with particular Instructions to regulate the Manner of their Proceedings.

In the Propositions given in by the *Scottish* Commissioners, they did in the first Place make offer of 10000 Men, in the Name of the Kingdom of *Scotland*; and, that they might be enabled to send them speedily they desired an Advance of 30000*l.* of the brotherly Assistance afforded unto them by the *England*, and that what Arms and Ammunition they sent into *Ireland* might, in the same Proportions, be returned unto them with all Expedition.

Next they desired that some Ships of War might be appointed to guard the Seas betwixt *Scotland* and *Ireland*, to waft over their Soldiers which they designed to transport in small Vessels.

And then that, upon landing of their Men in *Ireland*, there should be a 100 Horse ready to join with every 1000 Foot that they should send thither; and that they should receive Instructions and Orders, and in every Thing obey the *Scottish* General.

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These Propositions being taken into Consideration in the House of Commons, after they had duly considered of them, and weighing the high Necessities of this Kingdom, that the *Scots* had 2500 Men ready raised, and that they could not so suddenly make Provision any other Way for the Saving *Ireland*, as by sending these Forces out of *Scotland*, they readily condescended unto them, and, having voted them severally, they sent them up to the House of Peers, with their Desires for a Speedy Concurrence in them.

These Beginnings gave great Hopes of the sudden Relief of *Ireland*, and it was now generally believed, that considerable Forces would be transported within a very short Time out of *Scotland*, for the defence of the Northern parts of this Kingdom; especially considering with how much earnestness in his Majesty, in his Speech made to the Lords and Commons in Parliament, on the 14th of *December*, in this present Year, had pressed them to take to Heart the Business of *Ireland*, and offered unto them whatsoever his Power, Pains or Industry could contribute to the good and necessary Work of reducing the *Irish* Nation to their true and wonted Obedience.

But, alas, these great Expectations were soon dashed, and the Forces designed for *Ireland*, as well out of *England* and *Scotland*, strangely retarded, by several Obstructions which daily arose in the Transaction of the *Irish* Affairs.

For, first, his Majesty in the same Speech, wherein he conjured them, by all that was dear to him or them, to go on chearfully and speedily for the reducing of *Ireland*, did take Notice of a Bill for pressing Soldiers for *Ireland* depending

ing in the House of Peers, and declaring his Dislike of putting it in that Way, told them, he would pass it, so there were a *Salvo Jure* put into it, both for the King and People; but withal told them, that he thought himself little beholding unto him, whosoever it was, that began this Dispute, so far trenching upon the Bounds of his antient and undoubted prerogative.

These Passages in his Majesty's Speech were deeply resented, not only by the Lords, who were more particularly concerned in them, but by the House of Commons: And therefore, his Majesty had no sooner ended his Speech and left their House, but that the Lords fell into Consideration of the same, and resolved, That the King, by taking Notice of the Debate in their House of the Bill, concerning Pressing of Soldiers, had broken the fundamental Privileges of Parliament: And presently a Message was brought unto them likewise, by Mr. *Hellis* from the House of Commons, to desire a Conference with their Lordships by Committees of both Houses touching the Privileges of Parliament.

At the Conference they fully expressed the deep Sense they had of the high Injury offered unto them, by his Majesty, in invading their Privileges, and proceeded so far as to come not only to Petition his Majesty, and to desire that he would be pleased to make known that Person, who had given him Information so unduly, of what had passed in their House; but also, to make a Protestation concerning their Privileges.

This took up some Time, and the great Misunderstanding even which then began to appear
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betwixt his Majesty and the Parliament, had so strong an Influence into the Business of *Ireland*, notwithstanding the high Necessities of this Kingdom, and the great Affections expressed by the Kingdom of *England* for our sudden Relief here, the Resolutions were slow, and the Preparations went so heavily on, as it was long before the House of Commons could find Means to enable the Lord Lieutenant to send so much as one Regiment away out of *England*, for the Defence of the Castle and City of *Dublin*, then much distressed by the near Approach of the *Rebels*.

And now for the Forces to be sent out of *Scotland* into the Northern Parts of this Kingdom, they meet with several Obstructions likewise. For, first, the Commissioners of *Scotland* had not Power given them from the State there to Treat for the sending over a lesser Number than 10,000 Men, which the Lords here were very unwilling to condescend unto. But this Obstacle was soon removed by the zealous Affections of the House of Commons, who, as soon as the Propositions, brought in by the *Scotish* Commissioners for the Relief of *Ireland*, were presented unto them, voted their assent to treat for the sending of the Number of 10,000 Men out of *Scotland*, according to the Instructions given to the Commissioners by that Kingdom; and sent up a Message to the House of Peers, by Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Knt. to lay before their Lordships, the miserable Estate of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and to let them know, that the House of Commons conceived the best Way for the Preservation of it out of the Hands of the *Rebels*, was speedily to dispatch the *Scots* into the Province of *Ulster*; and therefore desired, that

that they would join with them in the Propositions received from the *Scotish* Commissioners.

Upon the Recitat of this Message, the House of Peers fell upon the said Proposition, and, after a long Debate, it was at length agreed, That 10,000 *Scots* should be sent into *Ireland*, if the House of Commons would condescend, that at the same Time there might 10,000 *Englishmen* be as speedily sent likewise thither; and thereupon desired a Conference with the House of Commons, that they might fully Understand their Resolution therein, which, being yielded unto by the House of Commons, the Lords at the Conference pressed with much Earnestness, That they might be assured of the sending over of 10,000 *English* at the same Time that the *Scots* were to be sent away. Whereunto the House of Commons replied, that they were not to be capitulated withal; that their Actions were free as well without Conditions as Capitulations; that they thought they had given sufficient Certainty already of their Resolution to send that Number of *English* into *Ireland*; and therefore desired, that their Lordships would Vote the sending away of 10,000 *Scots* by itself, without any Relation to the *English* spoken of by them.

This took up a large Debate in the House of Peers, and was one main Cause of the slow Proceeding on of the Treaty with the *Scotish* Commissioners. I shall now undertake to determine at so great a Distance from whence these Obstructions grew, but I am very sure we could here easily find, that there were some such secret Workings under-hand against the good Affections expressed by the House of Commons, and
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by the Lords who were well affected to the Service of *Ireland*, as that this Treaty was very much retarded thereby, and not brought on to any Conclusion in many Months after : So as, in the mean Time, all the *British*, planted throughout this Kingdom, were despoiled, driven out of their Habitations, or most cruelly murdered within their own Doors : And the *Irish* strengthened themselves in all Parts of the Country, and prevailing every where, drew many to join with them, that had hitherto kept themselves in a kind of Neutrality, as supposing that the State here would be altogether deserted, and no Forces at all sent out of *England*, for the suppressing of the *Irish* as had taken up Arms in this Quarrel.

The whole Province of *Munster*, about the Midst of this Month of *December*, began to declare themselves in open Rebellion. The Lord President there had used his utmost Endeavours to suppress the very Beginnings ; but, by Reason of his Want of Strength, was now able to contain them no longer : He did, with all Diligence and Carefulness, labour to prevent the joining together of any Numbers of the *Irish* in any of those Parts ; and when he understood how they began, in some Places of the Province, to despoil the *English*, and that they had, near *Waterford*, gotten away many of the *Englishmen's* Castle, and were carrying them out of the Limits of his Government, he thought it not fit longer to sit still, but gallantly pursued those *Rebels* in his own Person, being accompanied only with his own Troop of Horse, and some few Gentlemen of the Country, who joined with them ; and, after a long and tedious March, came upon them unawares, slew 200 of those

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Rebels, restored the Cattle to the *English* that were Owners of them, and took several Prisoners, whom he hanged, for a greater Terror to all such as should adventure afterwards to follow their Example.

As soon as he had done this Service, his Lordship retired back to *Cork*, having neither Forces nor Means to make any further Prosecution; which the *Irish* well enough understood, and therefore drew together in several Places of that Province, and though they did not in that barbarous Manner, as they in *Ulster*, hew down, cut in Pieces, hang, drown or presently murder all the *English* among them, yet many horrid murders they committed, used several Kinds of Cruelty to many particular Prisoners, and, for all the rest that fell into their Hands, they robbed and violently deprived them of all their Goods and Cattle, most miserably stripped them out of their Cloaths, and leaving them quite naked, suffered most of them in that Lamentable Posture to pass to *Cork*, *Youghall Kinsale*, and other Ports, there to embark their miserable Carcasses for *England*, where few arrived safely; and I am sure, I may well say few, in respect of those Multitudes who perished through Want, Cold and Famine, before they could get to those Towns, or otherways died after their Arrival in them, or were by Storms at Sea cast away.

And for the *English* who stood upon their Guard, and immured themselves up in several Castles of good Strength in those Parts, they endured many Months Siege, suffered much Want and Misery, and having bravely resisted all the Assaults and Attempts, that the *Irish* made with great Multitudes upon them, and
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in many Places caused them to raise their Sieges with great Loss and Slaughter of their Men ; yet they were afterwards, finding themselves without all Hope or Possibility of Relief, enforced to deliver those Places, together with the Multitudes of *English* they had received, into the Hands of the *Rebels*, upon fair Quarter solemnly promised them. And in many Places, no sooner had they by that Means gotten Entrance into them, but that they most perfidiously broke the Quarter given, despoiled them of that little Remainder of their Substance they had then left, and sent them away in great Want and Misery to find Relief among other *English* Garrisons : But the whole Country being wasted and destroyed, and the poor *English* that lived in them despoiled of all their Substance, were become so miserable and poor, as that they were able to afford them very little Relief or Comfort, besides Pity and Compassion, which could not support or keep alive those languishing gastly Creatures, so as multitudes died, some in Ditches, some travelling on the Highways, some under Hedges, and so left their Carcasses as fearful Spectacles to the Beholders, and sad Monuments of the inhumane Cruelties exercised on them by those *Bloody Rebels*, who yet, under Pretence of Mercy, spared their Lives ; but took up a Resolution, as they were not ashamed to declare, to put them to a more lingering Death, and therefore left them in such a Condition as inevitably brought on their miserable Ends with much more Discomfort and Sorrow.

But this shall suffice to shew the Beginning of the Rising of the Rebels in *Munster* : the Particulars whereof shall be clearly and at large set down

down in the following Relations of their first Proceedings within that Province, where it shall be declared likewise, how all the great Towns in *Lemster*, except *Dublin* and *Tredagh*, did, about the same Time, begin to strip and expel all the *British* Protestants, that either inhabited in them, or fled out of the Country near about to shelter themselves there, from the barbarous Cruelties of their *Irish* Neighbours.

As for the City of *Dublin*, it began now to be much more straitly encompassed by the Forces of the Rebels, much encreased through their late Conjunction with the *English* Pale: And in case of their Want of Power to force it, yet they having made their Approaches so near, and having so absolutely stopped up all the Avenues, as we had great Reason to apprehend their keeping back of Provisions would drive the City into high Necessities, and quickly occasion great Want there.

And here I cannot without much Grief of Heart call to mind the lamentable Complaints and bitter Outcries, which until this Time were continually sent up unto the Lords Justices and Council, while they remained in this Posture, out of several Parts of the Country, where the *English* Inhabitants, being by the *Irish* driven out of their Habitations, had for their present Safeguard put themselves into Houses or Castles of some Strength; they there, enduring much Want and Misery, made shift, though not without great Difficulty, by several Messages and Letters, to make known their Condition to the State; as also that they were resolved, as many of them did, to suffer the utmost Extremities out of hope of Relief, and a confident Expectation of Succours from them.

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But, alas, all was in vain, they were able to afford them no other Comfort, than what their pitiful Commiseration of their sorrowful Condition would administer; they were themselves reduced so low, as, with the greatest Power they could raise, they durst not adventure to send any Way five Miles out of the City; their Supplies out of *England* were not arrived, they had neither Place nor Means to raise Men, but only within the Virge of the City: and such as they ordinarily took up there were either *Irish*, whereof many ran presently away with their Arms to the Rebels, or poor stripped *English* and Inhabitants of this City, who were raw Men; and though they afterwards, being well exercised and trained to the Use of their Arms, proved very good Soldiers, yet for the present they were very unfit for Service, as appeared in that little Expedition Colonel *Craford* made out with his Men to *Finglas*, a little Town two Miles distant from the City, at the same Time when Sir *Charles Coot* marched forth to beat *Luke Netterville*, with his undisciplined Regiment out of his Quarters at *Santry*; who, having timely Notice of his coming, saved him the Labour; for he presently, upon the Rumour thereof, dislodged and fled in so much Haste, as he left some of his best Equipage, and all his Provisions behind him: But that Party of the Rebels Colonel *Craford* found at *Finglas*, having placed themselves with good Advantage behind great Ditches, stood better to their Work, and carried themselves so stoutly, as our new-raised Men began to shrink, and, had not the Colonel, and some other of his Officers behaved themselves very well that Day, their Men

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Men had made a most dangerous and shameful Retreat.

This was the greatest Expedition the Forces in *Dublin* were able to undertake at that Time, which no Man will wonder at, if he doth consider, as it hath been related, how the Town was in a Manner surrounded on every Side by several Parties of the Rebels gathered together: All Commerce was interrupted, all Provisions brought out of the Country for the Supply of it intercepted; as also, that all the chief of the *English* Inhabitants had transported themselves, their Goods, and their Families into *England*, many of the *Papists* had upon other Reasons retired themselves, and what belonged unto them into the Country, and there taking up their Habitations within the Rebels Quarters; no Manner of Intercourse with any Persons whatsoever, that made their abode without the Distance of two Miles from any Part of the City; no Intelligence to be had upon any Terms from among the Rebels; all Courses taken for it disappointed; several Messengers hanged up: And yet, on the other Side, all our Designs disclosed, our Weakness discovered, and the most private Resolutions by one means or the other communicated unto them.

The Parties of the *Rebels* that lay near about the City were those following; *Luke Netterville*, being beaten from *Santry*, lay with near 2000 Men at *Swoords*, a Town six Miles distant, and possessed himself of the Castle of *Artaine*; and some other Places within two Miles of the City: On the West-side of the City, at *Tassagard Ruth-coole*, *Castle Lyons*, and other Villages within the Compass of six Miles, there lay 2000 more of the *Rebels*, who were come down out of the

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Counties of *Cartalagh*, *Kings County*, *Kildare*, and other Parts under the Command of *Roger Moore*, and *Sutton Eustace* of *Castle-Martin*, and others : The *Clandonells*, *Birnes* and *Tooles* were also come down in great Numbers out of the County of *Wiclow*, and had lodged themselves in some Castles towards the Sea-side, and in some Villages at the Foot of the Mountain, not above three or four Miles distant from the Town on the South side : How desperately those Forces threatned our Ruin and sudden Destruction will appear by this ensuing Letter bearing date about the midst of *December*, written from the Lords Justices and Council, unto the Lord Lieutenant then attending for his Dispatch.

A Letter from the Lords Justices and Council
to the Lord Lieutenant.

May it please your Lordship,

BY our Letters of the Third of *December*, we made known to your Lordship, that *Mr. Hawtridge*, was then newly arrived with the Treasure sent us from thence, which came but to sixteen thousand five hundred, fourscore and ten Pounds, a supply of Treasure far short of that which is now become necessary to perform any considerable Service here against the Rebels, whose Numbers are increased wonderfully, insomuch as the Forces they have about *Drogheda* on all Sides it, and between *Drogheda* and this Place, reaching even within four Miles of this City, are, upon very credible Report, conceived to be above twenty thousand Men, and besides those Numbers, who are so united between this and *Drogheda* and thereabouts ;
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there are many thousands of them dispersed the whole Kingdom over, for the meaner Sort of People first rise generally; and then those of better quality follow after; and the Fire which was first kindled in *Ulster*, and lay awhile smothered in other Parts, begins now to break out so generally, as the Defection now appears to be universal throughout the whole four Provinces; so strangely rooted was the Combination, and that strengthened under the specious Shew of a War for Religion; for although before and since the Caution we had from your Lordship, we have on our Part endeavoured not to give any Apprehension to the *Irish*, that *England* doth intend to make it a War of Religion, yet as we formerly made known to your Lordship, the Rebels labour mainly, to have it so understood. Nay, they now go so far as they call themselves generally the Catholick Army, a Title which hath drawn many thousands to their Party, and yet, many joined with them, for no other Reason than because they saw our Succours expected forth of *England* and *Scotland* deferred, they rightly judging, that without those Succours, we are not able to defend them ourselves, and indeed until those Succours come, they must and will encrease; but if our Men and Arms, were once arrived, the very Countenance of their coming would draw many from them to us, and give some stop to their Fury, with which they yet carry all before them whither-soever they come.

They continue their Rage and Malignity as gainst the *English* and Protestants, who if they leave their Goods and Cattle for more Safety with any Papists, those are called out by the Rebels, and the Papists Goods and Cattle left be-

hind ; and now upon some new Councils taken by them, they have added to their former, a farther Degree of Cruelty, even of the highest Nature, which is to proclaim, That if any *Irish* shall harbour or relieve any *English*, that be suffered to escape them with his Life, that it shall be penal even to Death to such *Irish* ; and so they will be sure though they put not those *English* actually to the Sword, yet they do as certainly and with more cruelty cut them off that Way, than if they had done it by the Sword ; and they profess they will never give over until they leave not any Seed of an *Englishman* in *Ireland*.

Nor is their Malice towards the *English* expressed only so, but farther even to the Beasts of the Fiedls ; and Improvements of their Hands, for they destroy all Cattle of *English* breed, and declare openly, that their Reason is, because they are *English* ; so great is their hatred, not only to the Persons of the *English*, but also to every Species of that Nation, and they destroy all Improvements made by the *English*, and lay waste their Habitations.

We formerly signified to your Lordship, that to take away all Jealousy from the Papists of the *English Pale*, we would furnish them with some Arms, and the rather because we well know that in the last great Rebellion in *Ireland*, the *English Pale* stood firm to the Crown of *England* ; and that the Rebel *Tyrone* in the Height of his Power and Greatness, was never able to get into the *Pale* with his Forces whilst he was in Rebellion ; and upon this Occasion, the Noblemen and Gentlemen of the *Pale*, making deep Professions of ther Loyalty to his Majesty, in Imitation of their Ancestors ; and with Expressions seeming to abhor the Contrivers of this Rebel
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lion here against whom they offered their Power and Strength, so as they might have Arms ; and we being well assured, that if we could gain their Concurrence with us, it would much facilitate our Work ; we did at their earnest Suit issue for them Arms, for one thousand seven hundred Men, wherewith divers Companies were armed by them, and some of themselves were appointed Governors of the Forces of the Counties, and Captains of their Companies ; but so many of those Companies revolted to the Rebels, and carried away their Arms with them, as we have recovered back but nine hundred and fifty Arms ; so as those whose Loyalty we had Reason to expect would help us, are now through their Disloyalty turned against us, and are strentned with our own Arms, and without all Question, if those of the *English Pale* had done their Parts as became good Subjects with their Arms they had from us ; and those they might gather among themselves, they might with our help not only have defended the *Pale* against the Rebels, but might also have prevented the Ruin and Destruction wrought by their Tenants and Neighbours on the poor *English* and Protestants among them ; for the Noblemen and Gentry sat still and looked on, while *English* and Protestants were ruined before their Faces ; and the Papists in the mean Time remaining secure, without the Loss of Goods, or any Thing else.

When we saw the Power, and Strength of the Rebels still growing upon us more and more, and approaching by Degrees more near us ; and the *English* and Protestants robbed and spoiled even within two Miles of this City, in disdain and affront of this State, which are Scorns of so high a Nature as we could not endure ; if we

had Strength sufficient to suppress their Insolencies : And when we observed the retarding of our Succours of Men and Arms from *England* or *Scotland*, neither of both Succours being yet come, nor as we heard so much as in View there or in *Scotland*, and when we found apparently, that for Want of those Supplies ; we became in a Manner so contemptable, as we were in Danger to be set upon for taking from us this City and Castle before our Aids should come, we bethought us of all the Means we could of gaining Time, being confident that we cannot be so deserted by the State of *England*, but that some Supplies, may yet come unto us : And therefore on the Third of *December*, we directed our Letters to divers of the Nobility of the Kingdom who were nearest to us: and most of them being of the *English Pale*, to be with us here on the eighth Day of this Month, that we might confer with them concerning the present State of the Kingdom. and we hoped by their help, to handle the Matter so as we might gain a few Days Time before our Surprisal here, by which Time in all likelihood our Succours might arrive, although it be boldly given out by the Rebels, that we shall have no Succours from thence, which they divulge to embolden their Party, and to strike Terror and Discouragement into the Well-affected, amongst whom there are many so weak, as to apprehend from thence too much fear, whereby many are fled the Kingdom. On the eighth Day of this Month, the Earl of *Kildare*, the Lord Viscount *Fitz-Williams*, and the Baron of *Houth* came to us, but the Rest of the Noblemen not coming deferred our Conference ; and on the eleventh Day of this Month we received Letters from seven of them, namely, the Earl
of

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of *Fingale*, the Lord Viscount *Gormanstone*, the Lord Viscount *Netterville*, and the Lords of *Slaine*, *Trimblestone*, *Dunsany* and *Lewth*, dated the seventh Day of this Month, and signed by them, pretending a fear of a Massacre on thole of their Religion ; and that therefore they are deterred to wait on us, but do rather think it fit to stand with the Loyalty they profess, we humbly submit to his Majesty's excellent Judgment ; for whose royal View we send you here inclosed a Copy of their said Letters. When we received those Letters, we did admire whence their Fears of coming to us should arise ; but afterwards we heard that they had been in Consultation with the Rebels, which also, as to most of them, is confirmed by the enclosed Examination of *Christopher Hampton* ; and indeed we know no cause of fear they have of us, unless their own Guilts begot in them the Fear they pretend ; and they spare not, though unjustly, to charge us with a Neglect of their Advices, whereas not one of them to this House offered to us any Advice or real Assistance, towards Pacification of these Troubles. It became then public, nor could we keep secret that which they had published to others, that those Noblemen so far sided with the Rebels as they now stood upon their guard ; we therefore adjudged it fit, for vindicating the State from the Aspersion which we found so publickly endeavoured to be laid upon us, to publish the enclosed Proclamation, as well to satisfy to the World as those Noblemen, who certainly are abundantly satisfied in their own secret Thoughts, that we never intended to Massacre them, or any other ; that being a Thing which we and all good Protestants do much abhor, whatever the Practise of their Religion

ligion is, and hath been found to be by woeful Experience in other Parts, whereof we confess we are now in great Danger, if our long-expected Succours come not the sooner to us; and it may be gathered from that unexampled Tyranny, which the Rebels have already exercised towards those of our Nation and Religion, who fell into their Hands, what we for our Parts may expect from them: But the Dishonour and Shame which may reflect upon the *English* Nation, by exposing this State and Kingdom to so apparent Ruin, and with it the Extirpation of God's true Religion, afflicts us more than the Loss of our own Lives and Fortunes, when all might be saved by sending seasonably those Succours.

We lately received Letters from the Lady *Ofaly*, and a Letter containing most insolent Menaces inclosed therein, sent her from the Rebels, to which she sent him a noble Answer, Copies whereof we send here inclosed. One of the Rebels, stiling himself Chaplain Major and Overseer of the Coasts and Harbours, lately sent a Summons in a proud and vaunting Manner, to one *Edward Leech*, that was intrusted to keep the Island of *Lambay*, requiring the Delivery up of that Island to the Rebels, which being done, he gave *Leech* a Pass, wherein he stiles the Rebels Forces the *Catholic Army*; Copy of which Summons and Pass we send your Lordship here inclosed) and *Leech* told us, that that mighty Chaplain declared openly to him, That he was Plotter of this great Rebellion, That he had spent in Travel and Prosecution of that Design beyond Seas four thousand Pounds; and that all the Kings in *Christendom*, excepting the King of *England*, and the King of *Denmark*, have Hands in this Business. A Castle in the Town of *Longford*,

ford, held by the *English*, who stood out awhile against the Rebels, being in the End through Want of Victuals, necessitated to be rendered up to them upon promise of Quarter, a *Papish* Priest standing with his Skain in his Hand, watching for the coming forth of a Minister then amongst the *English*, did, by thrusting that Skain into the Minister's Guts, and ripping up his Belly, give that as a Signal to the Rebels, for falling upon the rest of the *English*, which they did accordingly, as soon as the Minister was murdered, killing some, and hanging the Rest most perfidiously.

On the Ninth of this Month, we received Advertisement, that great Numbers of Men were gathered together in warlike Manner at *Swords*, in the County of *Dublin*, within six Miles of us, they having the Army of the *Rebels* behind them on this Side *Drogheda*; whereupon we then immediately sent out our Warrant, commanding them to disperse (a Copy whereof we likewise send here inclosed) whereupon we published the inclosed Manifesto, for vindicating this State from their Aspersions also: And it is observable, that those Gentlemen at *Swords* could even on that very *Tuesday-Night*, wherein they alledge they were so affrighted at their Houses, assemble twelve hundred Men together in that Moment of Time, to have in Readiness against any Attempt from the State; whereas, for many Days before, they could sit still and look on, whilst an Army of the Enemy lay behind them, betwixt them and *Drogheda*, and whilst some of them openly declared *Rebels*, and many of their Neighbours, who doubtless hold under-hand Intelligence with the *Rebels*, robbed and spoiled the *English* on all Parts round

round about them; and yet those Gentlemen could not in all that Time be either so affrighted by the *Rebels*, or so compassionate of their poor *English* Neighbours; and certainly those Gentlemen might have been as believing in this State, who have always used Lenity and Mildness towards them, as in the Forces of the *Rebels*, which lie so near behind them, and who they know have murdered many of his Majesty's Subjects; and, for ought they know, if there were not secret Intelligence between them, might have used them also in like Manner.

But the Truth is, we conceive those Gentlemen had a Mind to join with the *Rebels*, and do now take up Pretences to cover their Disloyalty, and cast Scandal on this Government.

The *Rebels* in the *Pale*, as in other Parts, have caused Masses to be said openly in the Churches, expelled the Ministers from officiating in their Churches, and forced divers Persons, for saving their Lives and Goods, to become *Papists*; openly professing, that no *Protestant* shall be suffered to live in *Ireland*; and, whilst they thus insult over all the *English* and *Protestants*, destroying them for no other Reason, but for that they are *Protestants* and *English*, we let fall nothing against them touching Religion, and yet they feign Things against us, tending that Way to give some Colour to their cruel Proceedings.

The *Rebels* of the County of *Kildare* have taken the *Naas* and *Kildare*, in the County of *Kildare*: The *Rebels* of *Meath* have taken *Trim*, and *Ashboy* in the County of *Meath*, and divers other Places: The *Rebels* of the County of *Dublin* have possessed themselves of *Swords* and
Rathcoole,

Rathcoole, and spoiled all the *English* and *Protestants* even to the Gates of *Dublin*; and now about 1500 of the Rebels of *Wiclow* are in and about *Powerscait*, and about ten Miles from this City: There are also between this and the *Naas*, within six or seven Miles of us, a thousand of the Rebels of *Kildare*, and the Borders of *Wiclow* and *Dublin*; so as we are in this City environed by them on all Sides by Land; and they begin to stop Accesses to us by Sea; for the Fishermen on the Sea-coasts, being all *Irish* and *Papist* Inhabitants in the *Pale*, brake out also into Rebellion with the Multitude, and have robbed, spoiled, and pillaged even within the Bay of *Dublin*, several Barks coming hither from *England*. And if, to revenge this Villainy on the Fishermen at *Clantarfe* and thereabouts, so near us, we send forth a Party of Soldiers to burn and spoil those Rebels Houses and Corn, the Gentlemen of the *Pale* will immediately take new Offence; but that we will adventure upon; for now there is no Dalliance with them, who so far declare themselves against the State, not caring what Scorns are put upon the Government; wherein is observable, that the Landlord of *Clantarfe* is one of those Gentlemen risen in Arms at *Swords*.

Your Lordship now sees not only the Necessity of hastening with all possible Speed, our Succours of Men and Arms, both out of *England* and *Scotland*, in greater Numbers than those at first designed, seeing the Breach appears to be far greater, and the Defection more general than at first was conceived; and yet so as such of them as are ready be not forced to stay for the Rest, but that those may be so ordered as to come after; for no Flesh can imagine, unless they

they saw it as we do, the Greatness of our Danger, who are but a Handful in Comparison of the Multitudes risen against us: And we desire, that the 10,000 designed to come from *Scotland* may be wholly sent away, as well the intended to be left there in readiness as the rest, with Direction to land as near *Dublin* as they may, and wheresoever they land to march to *Dublin*, if possible they can. And to send away with all speed the Ships, appointed for guarding of these Coasts, is also very necessary to be hastened, and that two or three Ships of good Strength follow after. Doubtless these *Rebels* expect a very great supply of Arms and Ammunition from foreign Parts, either *Spain* or *France*.

And although, out of the Fore-sight we had of this extremity since these Troubles began, we have endeavoured to get in some Provisions of Victuals and Corn, yet we have not been able to provide ourselves sufficiently to stand out any long Siege, nor can we now get in any more, our Markets being almost taken away; and the Strength of the *Rebels* surrounding us so as we can fetch in no more Provisions: Wherefore we beseech your Lordship, that the Magazines of Victuals, designed to be settled on that Side, may be settled with speed, if it be in Distress of Victuals for ourselves or them, or Oats for our Horses. Our want of Victuals is the more in respect of the daily Access of the *English* spoiled in the Country.

The Necessity of the Defence of the Province of *Munster*, required the immediate Raising of a Regiment of Foot, consisting of one thousand Men, and two Troops of Horse of threescore each Troop, which threescore we appointed the
Lord

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Lord President to raise, and for the Payment and Arming of them, we humbly advise, seeing we cannot do it, that Money and Arms and Ammunition for the Stores in that Province, now much wanting there.

And as the Rebels, which beset us and this City on all sides by Land, do threaten to cut off our Market at *Dublin*, which we begin to feel already; so they boldly declare, that they will, within a Day or two, cut off the Water-course, which brings Water to this City and Castle; and that done, that their Multitudes will immediately burn our Suburbs and besiege our Walls, which we confess we yet want Strength to defend, and must wait till our Supplies come forth of *England*, or *Scotland*, or both; for here we have but about three thousand Men, the rest of the old Companies being dispersed in several needful Garrisons in the Country, (excepting seven Companies of them surprised, and cut off by the Rebels at their first rising in *Ulster* and other Parts) and about two hundred Horse by pole of the old Army, whereof many are *Irish*: So as, considering the Spaciousness of this City and Suburbs; and lastly, the very great Numbers of the Rebels, who are so strong as to approach this City with many thousands, and yet leave many thousands also at the Siege of *Drogheda*, we cannot expect to be able to defend this City, for any long Time against them, without the Arrival of our expected Succours.

The Earl of *Castle-baven*, on the Tenth of this Month, presented at this Board the inclosed Oath, tendered unto him by the Rebels to be sworn by him, which he saith he refused to swear, and we hear they send it to all Parts to be tendered.

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dered to the People, pressing them to take the Sacrament thereupon.

We did lately, in hope to gain some Time untill our Supplies might come, listen to an Offer made by some *Popish* Priests to go to the Rebels and treat with them, as you may perceive by the inclosed : But since we find there is little Hope of it ; for some of the Priests are returned, nothing being wrought thereby.

However it is fit your Lordship should know what we do ; we must now crave leave to declare to your Lordship, that Things being risen here to this Height, threatening not only the Shaking of the Government, but the Loss of the Kingdom, as the Supplies of Men and Arms, and more Treasure, are of great necessity to be hastened away hither ; so is it also needful that we enjoy your Lordship's Presence here, for the Conduct in your own Person of the great and important Affairs of this State, as well in the Martial as in the Civil Government, which do necessarily require it in this Time of great and imminent Danger, wherein so far as we may be able to contribute any Assistance with you, we shall be ready to discharge our Duties therein, with that Loyalty and Uprightness of Heart which we owe to his Majesty, and the particular Respect due from us to your Lordship ; but we hope you will bring that Strength with you, which may besit the Greatness of the King our Master to send with his Lieutenant against so numerous Enemies as these Rebels are become, as well for the Honour of his Majesty, as for the Terror of those Rebels.

By what we have hitherto and now humbly represented to your Lordship, you may in Part see the Greatness of the public Danger wherein
this

this Kingdom now stands, and particularly this City and Castle, the principal Piece thereof; that, if those be lost (which, we now again assure your Lordship, were never in so great Peril to be lost, since the first Conquest of this Kingdom by the Crown of *England*) the whole Kingdom must quickly follow, that the Danger which must thereupon arise to the Kingdom of *England*, is very great in many respects.

There is no Possibility to prevent those Evils, with Honour and Safety to *England*, but by Succours from thence or *Scotland*, or both; and that if those Succours come not speedily, it cannot be avoided, but the Kingdom must be lost. And if, notwithstanding all this so often and truly made known by us to your Lordship, we shall perish for want of Supplies, we shall carry this Comfort with us to our Graves, or any other Burial we shall have, that your Lordship can witness for us to the Royal Majesty, and to all the World, that we have discharged our Duties to God, to his Majesty, to that Nation, and to this, in humbly representing to his Majesty, by your Lordship, the chief Governor of the Kingdom, the Extremities and Dangers wherein his Kingdom and People stand, and the Necessity of hastening Supplies hither, by all possible Means for Preservation of both; so as, whatever become of our Persons, our Memory cannot be justly stained with so wretched a Breach of Faith and Loyalty to the King our Master, as to forbear representing thither the Extremities wherein we are, whether we have the Credit to be believed, or no: And that we write Truth, and most needful Truth, will be found true, when perhaps we shall perish, and, which is more considerable, the Kingdom also, for want of being

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relieved

relieved and succoured in Time. And so we remain.

Your Lordship's to be commanded,

<i>William Parsons,</i>	<i>Jo. Borlace.</i>
<i>Ormand Offory,</i>	<i>R. Dillon.</i>
<i>Char. Lambart,</i>	<i>Ad. Loftus.</i>
<i>John Temple,</i>	<i>Charles Coot.</i>
<i>Francis Willoughby,</i>	<i>R. Meredith.</i>

From his Majesty's Castle of
Dublin, Dec. 14, 1641.

P O S T S C R I P T.

BY our Letters to your Lordship of the 22d of *November*, we did desire to be informed from thence, whether the Parliament here, being once prorogued, may not again be prorogued by Proclamation before they sit, or whether it be of necessity that they must sit again, and the Parliament to be prorogued the House sitting. And now that this Rebellion hath overspread the whole Kingdom, and that many Members of both Houses are involved therein, so as the Parliament cannot sit, we humbly desire to know his Majesty's Pleasure therein, and if his Majesty shall think fit to prorogue it, which in present we hold expedient, that then we may receive his Commandment for Prorogation, and that the Doubt concerning that be cleared; for to assemble at that Time cannot be with Safety.

Our

Our Letters of the third of *December* have been hitherto with-held on this Side by contrary Winds.

In this most miserable Condition, the Lords Justices and Council continued shut up within the City of *Dublin*, struggling with all their Power for a short Preservation from those dismal Calamities, which had generally overspread the whole Kingdom: Their Care, Travel, and Endeavours, had hitherto in some measure extended to the most remote Parts; how they might assuage the swelling Distempers, or yield some Relief to the lamentable Complaints and bitter Out-cries daily brought up unto them. But now the Evils abroad were grown past their Cure, and their own Dangers so multiplied as they were enforced to spend their Time almost in a perpetual Consultation; never at rest, sometimes raised in the Night by sudden Advertisements, always in constant Perplexity and Trouble, desperately threatened on every Side; so as, what through Treachery within or from without, they had just Reason to apprehend the loss of the City and Castle, wherein they had enclosed themselves, and so consequently the Ruin and Destruction of all the *British* and *Protestant*, throughout all other Parts of the Kingdom. And thus they continued until the most happy and welcome Arrival of that truly valiant Gentleman and gallant Commander Sir *Simon Harcourt*, who, being designed Governor of the City of *Dublin*, was dispatched away, by special Order of Parliament, with his Regiment, for the Preservation of that Place, and landed here on the last of *December*, 1461. to the great Joy and Comfort of all his Majesty's *Protestants* and

well-affected Subjects, and to the Terror of those *Rebels* now in Arms, who had made themselves believe that no Succours would be sent out of *England* towards the Suppressing of their notorious Rebellion.

The *Rebels* within very few Months after their first breaking out, had so ordered their Affairs, as that by their sudden Surprises, their sharp and bloody Executions, their barbarous Stripping, and Despoiling of all Sorts that fell into their Hands, they had cleared the Inland Counties of all the *British* Inhabitants: And, except a few Castles and other Places of Strength, which they held severally besieged, and had most of them suddenly after surrendered for want of Relief, they had in a manner made themselves absolute Masters in all those Parts of the Kingdom. And for the Maritime Places, there were only some of the chief Cities which were held out against them, besides some few other Forts and Places of no great Importance: As, in the Province of *Lemster*, the City of *Dublin*; and in the Province of *Munster*, the Cities of *Cork*, *Youghull*, and *Kinsale*; in *Ulster*, *Londonderry*, *Colraine* and *Caregfergus*: And all these they held either besieged, much distressed, or they were otherways so over-pestered with the Multitudes of Poor stripped People fled to them for Safety, as they were confident they could not long hold out, but that either open Force, Treachery, Famine, or Sickness would within a short Time inevitably put them into their Hands.

Thus it pleased God to humble his own People in this Land, and for their Sins to give them up into the Power of their cruel Enemies, who began now to sacrifice to their own Nets, to celebrate

lebrate the Memory of their Victories : And, upon the Prosperity of their Undertakings and late Success, they were become so confident of prevailing, even to the total Extirpation of all the *British* and *Protestants* out of this Kingdom, as they proceeded to set down a certain Form of Government, nominated the Persons whom they intended to entrust with the Management of their Affairs, what Laws they would have revoked, what Statutes newly enacted: And in the mean Time they erected a Council, which they stiled the Supreme Council, which they invested with absolute Power and Authority, to order and govern the whole Kingdom. This consisted of certain Noblemen, Gentlemen, three or four Lawyers, and one Physician, who, being elected unto this Charge, had the Place of their Residence appointed unto them at *Kilkenny*, a City, in the great and weighty Affairs of their State: They there erected several Courts of Judicature; they made a new Broad Seal, appointed several great Officers of State, coined Money, settled an Excise upon all kind of Commodities, and performed many other Acts of regal Power.

Soon after a considerable Number of Horse as well as Foot, sent over by the Parliament of *England*, arrived at *Dublin*, and had in some petty Encounters thereabouts tried the Metal of the *Rebels*, and found their Spirit of a poor and base Allay, they began extremely to disvalue them, and would be no longer abused with the fabulous Reports of their great Strength or Numbers, which with much Advantage they had long made use of : Therefore now they began to seek them out in all Places, and where-soever they came to meet with them, they always

ways prevailed even with small Numbers, very often against great Multitudes of them, sparing not many Times to pursue them into the midst of their greatest Fastnesses, and made the very Bogs and Woods unsafe Receptacles for their broken Troops. And with so great Success was the War prosecuted by the *English*, from the first Landing of their Forces out of *England*, until the Treaty of that most unhappy Cessation concluded in *Sept.* 1643, as that, in all Encounters they had with the Rebels during that Time, they never received any Scorn or Defeats, but went on victoriously, beating them down in all Parts of the Kingdom: And so they carried on their Work before them without any Assurance either from the meer *Irish* or the *English Irish*: For I cannot myself remember any Gentleman of Quality throughout the whole Kingdom, that was there born and bred up a *Papist*, that put himself into that Service, or desired to be listed as a Member of the *English Army*. It is true, some of the common Soldiers there, were of the *English Irish* that came in, and, though they were not considerable for their Number, yet they did good Service, and still with much fury and Sharpness followed on upon the Execution.



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